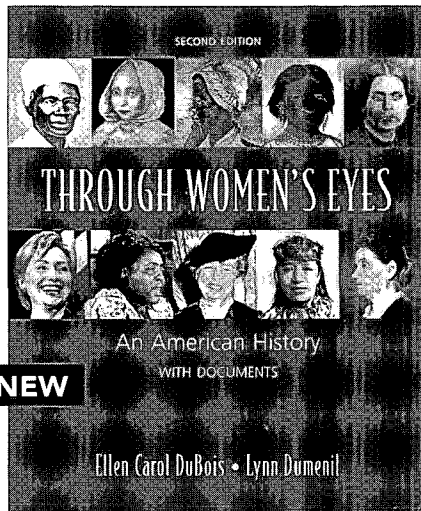


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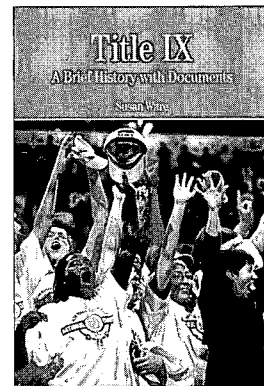
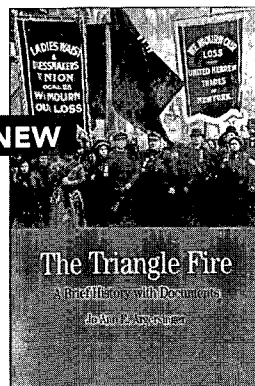
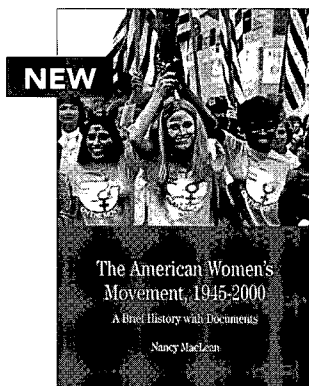
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## In This Issue

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In the February issue, we presented the first three articles in our *AHR* Forum on “The International 1968.” The April issue contains the second part of that Forum, preceded by two stand-alone articles. As always, these are followed by our extensive book review section, which includes several featured reviews.

### Articles

The first article, “Mistaken Identities? Olaudah Equiano, Domingos Álvares, and the Methodological Challenges of Studying the African Diaspora,” by **James H. Sweet**, takes up the issue of identity, whether ethnic or national, in the context of the Atlantic world. Tracing the movements of one man, Domingos Álvares, from his enslavement in West Africa, to Brazil, and finally to Portugal, Sweet argues for a more thoroughly Atlantic approach to understanding African identities. As in the well-known case of Olaudah Equiano, the existing documents describe Domingos in multiple and contradictory ways—as Mina, Cobu, Nangô, and Angola. They defy simple conclusions about his identity. But in focusing on the situational Atlantic contexts that elicited these different nationalities, Sweet demonstrates the calculated ways in which Domingos presented himself, and the different ways in which he was perceived by others as well. This interplay between self-understandings and interpolated identifications created the complex, overlapping, and sometimes shifting identities that unfolded over the course of his lifetime. Although it might be tempting to celebrate these shifts as instances of cultural malleability, Sweet notes that this shifting identity also entailed violent breaks with the past. The persistent grasping for social inclusion, which was at the very core of the African Atlantic experience, was a symptom of chronic alienation and instability. It epitomized, in short, the traumatic histories of countless Atlantic Africans.

The topic of identity in a transnational context is also explored in “Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats: The American Transformation of a Concept” by **Nancy L. Green**. Green notes that although the terms “expatriate” and “expatriation” have a long and complex history, they have been largely absent from recent studies of citizenship and migration. Most often, indeed, “expatriate” is associated with the writers of the interwar “Lost Generation.” There is, however, a broader understanding of expatriation both as a legal act and as an aspect of changing notions of citizenship.

Green pursues several themes. She argues for the importance of incorporating the concept of expatriation into our understanding of the state's relationship to its citizens, both as a feature of new citizenship studies and in the study of migration. For the state defines itself not only in terms of those it incorporates within its borders, but also with regard to those who cross beyond them. She also insists that the concept of expatriation should be understood as both a legal and a social construct. The "imagined expatriate" has played an important role in the construction of the concept of citizenship. Finally, she proposes a truly historical understanding of expatriation in the last two centuries, from welcomed newcomer to traitor to emissary.

### **AHR Forum**

Part I of "The International 1968" contained articles about the international counterculture, the events in both West and East Germany, and protests in Japan during that turbulent year. In Part II we present three essays that take us in very different directions. In "Sons, Daughters, and Patriarchy: Gender and the 1968 Generation," **Sara M. Evans** argues that while few participants or observers noted it at the time, gender was in fact at the heart of the youthful rebellions associated with 1968; the generational uprisings of that time pitted both sons and daughters against traditional conceptions of gender roles, although in different ways. Sons challenged the authority of their fathers and the patriarchal rigidity of traditional institutions, including time-honored constructions of manhood. They did not, however, defy the hierarchy of gender. By contrast, the revolt of daughters against patriarchy placed them in opposition to male supremacy both inside and outside radical ranks. Both the utopianism that infused these movements and the lived experiences of freedom and community offered many women new possibilities for self-definition and schooled them in political action on their own behalf, even as such experiences made clear the pervasive sexism of the time. The sharply contrasting revolts of young men and young women gave rise to conflicts within these movements and inspired the subsequent emergence of feminism around the globe. As a result, the international 1968 initiated a revolution in gender relations that continues to this day.

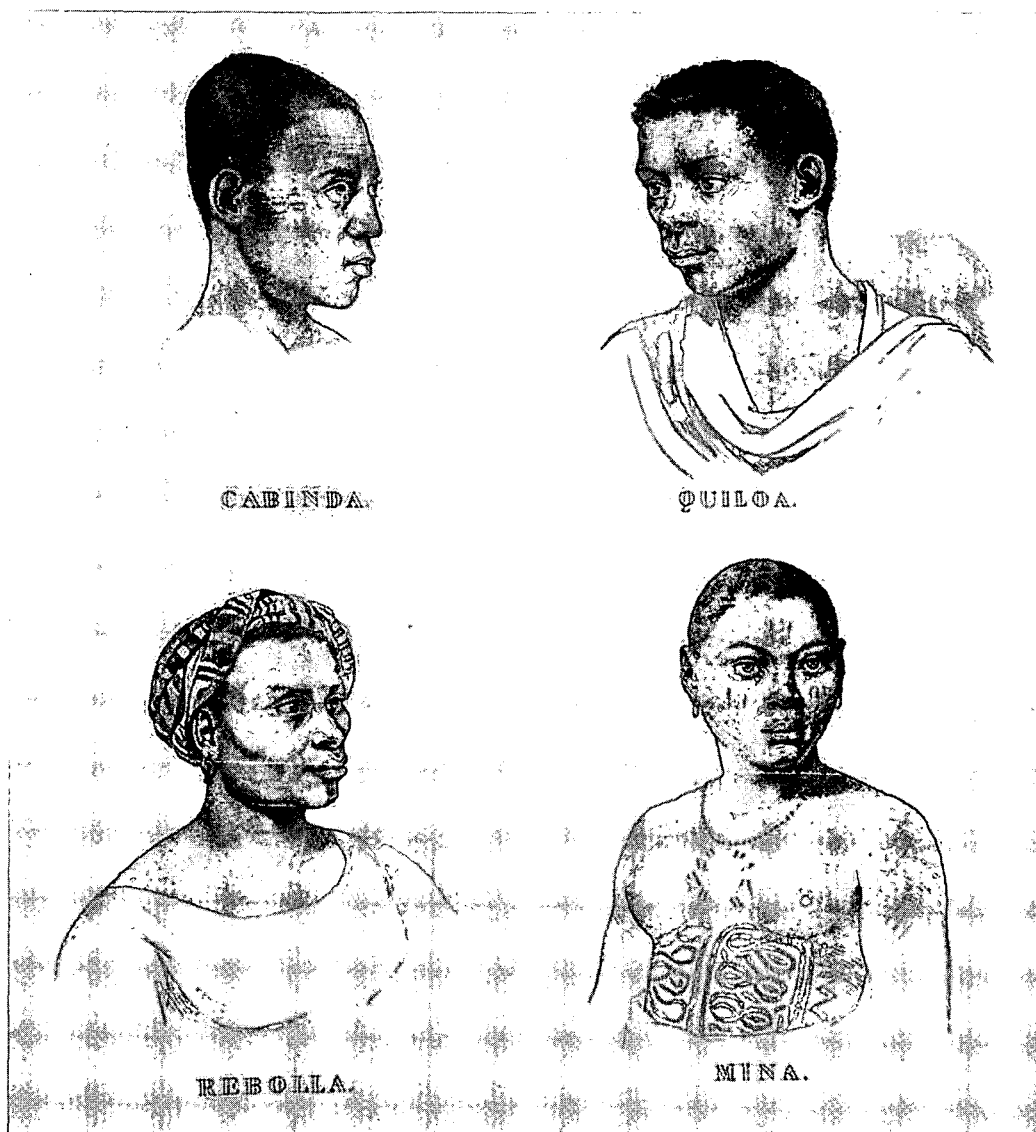
In "Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968," **Jeffrey L. Gould** notes that only the Wars of Independence and the strike wave of 1919 rival the dimensions and simultaneity of the 1968 protests in Latin America. His article looks at events in Uruguay, Brazil, and Mexico, the most important sites of protest, and seeks to shed light on the common characteristics of this vast popular mobilization. He argues that its most significant feature was an egalitarian ethos that challenged virtually all social and political relationships. In the course of his article, Gould contends with the views of Immanuel Wallerstein, who put forth the thesis that the New Left undermined the social democratic and Communist left that had become, in Latin America as elsewhere, a support of the world capitalist system. A key legacy of the mobilizations of 1968, to be sure, was the weakening of the traditional left and the beginning of its agonizing demise. In Latin America, as in Europe, however, the 1968 mobilizations operated between two poles: the radical or revolutionary left and the Com-



munist parties aligned with the Soviet Union. Gould's article suggests a far more complex relationship between the two camps of the left than the bitter opposition that Wallerstein depicts.

In the last article in the Forum, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968," **Richard Ivan Jobs** shows how the events of that year marked a turning point in the emergence of an international social cohort based on age, one that professed not just nationalist but also internationalist and even Europeanist sensibilities. The youth of Europe sought out revolution where it could be had, and one of the changes they demanded was in the state frontier controls that inhibited their continent-wide mobility. Thus, we should see the events of May 1968 in Paris, for example, in a context wider than France by recognizing how they attracted revolutionary youth from across Europe. Jobs's article recasts 1968 as a significant moment in the cultural history of European integration by showing how young people, by virtue of their travels, began to express themselves as citizens of Europe rather than a particular nation, and how they had come to identify with one another as a transnational cohort despite their distinct national backgrounds and identities. Migrating between protest sites, these young people saw themselves as part of a new European community, a vision that shaped their demand for a borderless Europe at the same time that statesmen furthered continental unity with the creation of the European community.

June's issue will include an *AHR* Roundtable on "Historians and Biography" and an *AHR* Forum that considers Simon Schama's *History of Britain*, both the book and the television series.



From Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil: Traduit de l'Allemand* (Paris, 1835).

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# Mistaken Identities? Olaudah Equiano, Domingos Álvares, and the Methodological Challenges of Studying the African Diaspora

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JAMES H. SWEET

SCHOLARS OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS have debated the meanings of African identities for many years, but a recent resurgence in questions about identity seems to have coincided with the emergence of the African diaspora and Atlantic studies as discrete fields of study. Much of this recent debate centers on the meanings of “ethnic” or “national” signifiers such as Angola, Mina, Guinea, and Yoruba. In the historiography of early North America, for example, strong disagreements have emerged around the question of Igbo identity.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most famous and controversial of these disputes centers on literary scholar Vincent Carretta’s recent suggestion that Olaudah Equiano, one of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world’s most prominent historical figures, was not born in Igbo land, and thus “probably invented an African identity.”<sup>2</sup>

In his autobiography, Equiano claimed that he was born in “Essaka,” an Igbo-speaking region near the Niger River in contemporary Nigeria. At ten years old, he was kidnapped by African traders and sold to Europeans on the African coast. After enduring the Middle Passage, he labored as a slave for more than ten years in Barbados and Virginia, and on merchant ships crossing the Atlantic and Mediterranean. He purchased his freedom in 1766 and continued to work as a seaman, traveling widely to Central America, the Caribbean, the Arctic, and North America, before finally settling in England.

Many thanks to Holly Brewer, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt Childs, Walter Hawthorne, Neil Kodesh, Lisa Lindsay, Paul Lovejoy, Joe Miller, Akin Ogundiran, John Sweet, Peter Wood, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR* for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this essay. The research and writing of the article could not have been completed without the generous support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Humanities Center and Research Triangle Foundation–Walter Hines Page Fellowship, the Graduate School at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, and the Institute for Historical Studies at the University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998); Douglas B. Chambers, “‘My Own Nation’: Igbo Exiles in the Diaspora,” *Slavery and Abolition* 18, no. 1 (1997): 72–97; David Northrup, “Igbo and Myth Igbo: Culture and Ethnicity in the Atlantic World,” *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 3 (2000): 1–20; Douglas B. Chambers, “The Significance of Igbo in the Bight of Biafra Slave Trade: A Rejoinder to Northrup’s ‘Myth Igbo,’” *Slavery and Abolition* 23, no. 1 (2002): 101–120; and Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens, Ga., 2005), xiv–xv. Although the controversy did not fully erupt until after the publication of Carretta’s book, he had actually made similar claims in an earlier article. See Carretta, “Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Question of Identity,” *Slavery and Abolition* 20, no. 3 (1999): 96–105.

In 1789, Equiano published his autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano; or, Gustavus Vassa the African: Written by Himself*. Equiano's detailed account of his life, imbued with a sharp critique of slavery, created an immediate sensation. The book's unique firsthand accounts of Africa, the Middle Passage, slavery, and seaborne exploration were a revelation to European readers. Yet the narrative still followed a widely recognized genre of autobiography in which the protagonist overcomes extreme hardships before realizing temporal and spiritual redemption. In this way, the book represented an important new contribution to English literature—a fusion of unfamiliar African and Atlantic histories with familiar genres of autobiographical politics and spirituality. By the time of Equiano's death in 1797, nine English editions of the book were in print, and there were American, Dutch, German, Russian, and French editions as well. As Henry Louis Gates has noted, Equiano's account “became the prototype of the nineteenth-century slave narrative.”<sup>3</sup>

Equiano's richly textured autobiography faded in importance after American slavery was abolished in the nineteenth century, but it reemerged in the twentieth century as the most influential slave narrative in the literary and historical canons. Given its breadth of coverage across the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, it has become a standard text in courses on early Atlantic and African diaspora histories. As the exemplar of the eighteenth-century African Atlantic experience, Equiano has no match. Hence, when Carretta questioned Equiano's African provenance, he set off a vigorous, and sometimes acrimonious, debate.<sup>4</sup>

Carretta's claims are based on two newly discovered documentary sources—a baptismal record and a ship's muster roll—that show Equiano's birthplace as South Carolina. According to Carretta, it was Equiano himself who provided that information to the Anglican priest and the ship's purser, each of whom duly recorded the data in the documents. Because these documents were produced years apart and long before Equiano penned his autobiography, they seem to call into question his later claims about his Igbo identity, his enslavement, and his experience in the Middle Passage. Carretta suggests that Equiano “invented” his African past to heighten the drama of his autobiography, bolstering its authenticity in the service of the abolitionist cause.

At first blush, this seems to be a simple conflict over how to interpret contradictory sources. Documentary self-claims to both Igbo and Carolina identity appear irreconcilable; one of them must have been invented. Implicit in this approach, however, is the adoption of taxonomies that bound enslaved peoples to fixed categories

<sup>3</sup> Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *The Classic Slave Narratives* (New York, 2002), 8.

<sup>4</sup> On Carretta's findings and his challengers, see Paul E. Lovejoy, “Autobiography and Memory: Gustavus Vassa, Alias Olaudah Equiano, the African,” *Slavery and Abolition* 27, no. 3 (2006): 317–347; Vincent Carretta, Paul E. Lovejoy, Trevor Burnard, and Jon Sensbach, “Olaudah Equiano, the South Carolinian? A Forum,” *Historically Speaking: The Bulletin of the Historical Society* 7, no. 3 (2006): 2–16; Vincent Carretta, “Response to Paul Lovejoy's ‘Autobiography and Memory: Gustavus Vassa, Alias Olaudah Equiano, the African,’” *Slavery and Abolition* 28, no. 1 (2007): 115–119; Paul E. Lovejoy, “Issues of Motivation: Vassa/Equiano and Carretta's Critique of the Evidence,” *Slavery and Abolition* 28, no. 1 (2007): 121–125. The debates surrounding Equiano's identity also received widespread coverage in the academic and mainstream news media. See, for instance, Jennifer Howard, “Unraveling the Narrative,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 52, no. 3 (September 9, 2005): A11; Gary Younge, “Author Casts Shadow over Slave Hero,” *The Guardian*, September 14, 2005, <http://books.guardian.co.uk/news/articles/0,,1569407,00.html> (accessed February 4, 2009).



of origin and rank. Ethnographic labels such as “Igbo” purportedly signified African provenance, as well as a bundle of other traits that set Igbo apart from Yoruba, Mandinga, etc. For slaveholders, knowledge of these differences was crucial in assessing and monitoring enslaved commodities.<sup>5</sup> Carretta’s attempt to reconcile Equiano’s “contradictory” claims of origin only reifies the fixity of this European system of “scientific” classification. The assumption is: once an Igbo, always an Igbo, only an Igbo. But just how fixed were these ethnographic labels? Who ascribed them? Where? When? And under what circumstances? European taxonomies did not readily accommodate the complexity of African self-understandings or group imperatives. Nor did they accommodate the potential for identities to shift across space and time. Recognizing “Igbo” and “Carolina” as fluid, socially determined signifiers, rather than as fixed categories, forces a deeper critical assessment of the context in which Equiano made these documentary claims. Through Equiano’s optic, perhaps he could be both “Igbo” and “Carolina,” depending on the circumstances.

Carretta’s desire to reconcile Equiano as either “African” or “American” is not unusual. Indeed, his approach to the documents mirrors broader conceptual disputes over the relative “African-ness” of early African Americans. At the core of these interpretive disagreements are important questions about the fixity of African identity in an ever-changing and pluralistic Atlantic world. Longstanding debates over “creolization” versus African “retentions” in the Americas hinge on the question of how the *process* of African acculturation unfolded in the Atlantic world. On the one hand, there are scholars who argue that most Africans had only their enslavement in common when they arrived in the Americas; “all—or nearly all—else had to be *created by them*.”<sup>6</sup> Here the emphasis is on creativity—the ways Africans forged new and vibrant African American cultures, despite the crises of their uprooting and enslavement.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, there are scholars who argue for more sustained connections between Africa and the Americas: “African culture was not surviving: It was arriving.”<sup>8</sup> Here the emphasis is on continuities of language, religion, music, and aesthetics in the forging of distinct African ethnic or national communities.<sup>9</sup> If the details of these debates are not familiar to some readers, the contours may be more so. Similar debates exist in the historiography of voluntary migration from

<sup>5</sup> On the ways in which “categorization” operates as an assertion of power and domination, see Richard Jenkins, “Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorization and Power,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17, no. 2 (1994): 197–223. Jenkins is careful to note that those who have these categories imposed upon them can eventually embrace them as their own.

<sup>6</sup> Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston, Mass., 1992), 18; emphasis in the original.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Mintz and Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture*; Richard Price, “The Miracle of Creolization: A Retrospective,” *New West Indian Guide* 75, nos. 1–2 (2001): 35–64; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “Culture on the Edges: Creolization in the Plantation Context,” *Plantation Society in the Americas* 5, no. 1 (1998): 8–28; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); and Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998).

<sup>8</sup> John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1998), 320.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*; Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*; Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*; Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery* (London, 2000); Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds., *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (New York, 2003); and Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs, eds., *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World* (Bloomington, Ind., 2004).

Europe to the United States, where notions of the “uprooted” versus the “transplanted” very much mirror those of “creolization” versus “retentions.”<sup>10</sup>

Despite the divisive tone of some of these recent debates, it is not clear what is at stake here. Obviously, identity was malleable; at the same time, an individual’s past experiences informed present understandings. The cultures of Africa “survived” even as Africans embraced new ideas. This is acknowledged on both sides of these arguments. Scholars who have challenged the creolization model have done so on the grounds that it underestimates the extent to which Africans arrived in culturally coherent groups that could maintain direct ties to the African past. Using increasingly precise slave trade data, historians now link specific slave-exporting regions in Africa to distinct American destinations.<sup>11</sup> As a result of their careful attention to African historical processes and African cultural dynamics in the Americas, these scholars have added striking new detail on the African aspects of American history, aspects that were lacking in earlier studies of broad, detached “survivals.” At the same time, this new research has shown that the process of creolization was much slower in some parts of the Americas than others. Nevertheless, despite clarifying the persistence of African cultural forms, this “revisionist” scholarship of the African diaspora has not fundamentally challenged the creolization model.<sup>12</sup> Africa might “arrive” in the Americas in coherent social and cultural forms, but these African structures eventually give way to African American ones, just as the creolization scholars tell us.

Even in its laudable emphasis on distinct African histories in the Atlantic, this revisionist scholarship continues to operate on conceptual terrain that ultimately reduces “creolization” to the mixture of European and African forms. In this narrow vision, as with the vision of the Atlantic more generally, creolization often seems bound to the inevitability of European mixture.<sup>13</sup> Thus, creolization becomes the study of a process focused on the Americas, and not a study of the peoples who

<sup>10</sup> Oscar Handlin’s *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Boston, Mass., 1951) suggests that European immigrants were alienated from their pasts, forced to assimilate into a new America. Since the 1950s, scholars have challenged this formulation, arguing for continuities in ethnic traditions. This work is perhaps best exemplified in John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985).

<sup>11</sup> See David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert Klein, eds., *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, 2000), and its open-source revision that promises frequent updates of the data, David Eltis, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson, and Manolo Florentino, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://www.slavevoyages.com>.

<sup>12</sup> The idea of “revisionist” interpretations of slavery studies comes from Paul E. Lovejoy, “The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture, and Religion under Slavery,” *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation* 2 (1997), [http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/publications/Lovejoy\\_Studies%20in%20the%20World%20History%20of%20Slavery.pdf](http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/publications/Lovejoy_Studies%20in%20the%20World%20History%20of%20Slavery.pdf) (accessed February 4, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Nowhere is this clearer than in the scholarship on “Atlantic Creoles,” where the Americanization process is now sometimes cast as having begun in Africa itself. See, for example, Ira Berlin, “From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1996): 251–288; and more recently Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585–1660* (Cambridge, 2007), who argue that Atlantic Creoles’ “knowledge of European material culture, religion, language, and aesthetics made it easy for them to integrate into the [American] colonial environment” (2). According to this recent scholarship, the flow of knowledge from Europeans to Africans rendered Atlantic Creoles peculiarly suited as American colonial subjects. One troubling implication of this argument is that slavery was somehow made more tolerable for those who were familiar with European lifeways. For critiques, see Peter A. Coclanis, “The Captivity of a Generation,” *William and Mary Quar-*

actually arrived there. The process of cultural exchange and the formation of new peoples was by no means unique to the Americas. The “miracle” of creolization was not so much its exceptionalism in the Americas, but rather its pervasiveness in all regions of cultural exchange, including Africa itself.<sup>14</sup>

A shift to a more thoroughly Atlantic approach can emphasize the multitude of overlapping cultural circuits and their influences on the individuals who moved through them.<sup>15</sup> In the debate over creolization versus retentions, scholars generally tend to limit identity to either African or American outcomes. But among those Africans who traveled the breadth and scope of the Atlantic world, rarely was identity asserted as a rigid “either/or” proposition of African versus American. The teleology of “when” an enslaved African would become American hardly applied to those who moved frequently between continents, among a variety of peoples. Rather, culture was accretive and assertions of identities were situational, dependent on claims and attributions calibrated to constantly shifting sets of sociopolitical demands. Beliefs and identities from the African past were not abandoned. On the contrary, these foundational understandings operated as a filter of perception in the accumulation of new ideas and ways of being, a crucial compass in negotiating how the new might be put to use in the unfamiliar and volatile environments of Atlantic-world slave societies.

Charting these fluid identities through European documents requires a close and careful reading of the contexts in which the documents were produced. African ethnographic labels often tell us a great deal about group identity (particularly as defined by Europeans), but they tell us little about how individual Africans perceived themselves or were perceived by other non-Europeans.<sup>16</sup> Nor do these labels shed

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terly 61, no. 3 (2004): 544–556; and my review of Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas*, forthcoming in *New West Indian Guide* 83 (2009).

<sup>14</sup> To be sure, the contributions of African Americans in “building” America is an important topic; however, the tendency to emphasize American institutional outcomes draws attention to broader critiques of extant Atlantic histories—that many are not really Atlantic at all, and instead focus narrowly on European and American histories that are “old wine in new bottles, or in this case the old colonial history repackaged as Atlantic history.” See Alison Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities,” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 741–757, quote from 745. See also Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra’s critique that the Atlantic paradigm “sanctions Eurocentric cultural geographies for North America”; Cañizares-Esguerra, “Some Caveats about the ‘Atlantic’ Paradigm,” *History Compass* 1, no. 1 (2003): 1. More recent attempts to define the Atlantic world in terms of “entangled” empires are no less satisfying in integrating African histories (let alone African “empires”) into the Atlantic narrative. See, for instance, Eliga H. Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007): 764–786. For a critical response in the same *AHR* Forum, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, “Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?” *ibid.*, 794, where he says: “If the category of the Atlantic is to mean anything, it ought to include Africa, but there seems to be no room for this often overlooked fourth continent in most new versions of the Atlantic.”

<sup>15</sup> Here I echo calls made by other scholars to break free from the “straitjacket” of creolization versus survivals. See, for instance, David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson, “Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (December 2007): 1329–1358, esp. 1332; Vincent Brown, *The Reaper’s Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008), 7–8; J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton, N.J., 2005); and Luis Nicolau Parés, *A formação do candomblé: História e ritual da nação jeje na Bahia* (Campinas, Brazil, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> Studies of individual enslaved Africans in the North Atlantic are exceedingly rare. Where they exist, they tend to adhere to the “Atlantic Creole” perspective. See, for instance, Terry Alford, *Prince*

light on the possibilities for individuals to move in and out of group or “national” categories of identity over the course of a lifetime. The betwixt and between of the Atlantic world allowed some Africans to jump from one language and set of cultural understandings to another.<sup>17</sup> The savviest and most well-traveled Africans took careful measure of their environments, adroitly crafting group identities that allowed them to survive, resist, and in some instances thrive in the Atlantic world. In this way, sociopolitical exigencies shaped the ways in which Africans deployed identity. In response, these same exigencies often shaped Europeans’ perceptions of Africans, informing their attempts at “ethnic” or “national” identification. It was this interplay between self-understandings and interpolated identifications that created the complex, overlapping, and sometimes shifting “identities” that unfolded over the course of a given lifetime.<sup>18</sup>

Few individual cases illustrate these processes quite like that of Domingos Álvares, an enslaved African turned freedman turned inquisitorial exile. By tracing Domingos’s movements from West Africa, to Brazil, and finally to Portugal, we can see the carefully calculated ways in which one man presented himself, and was perceived by others, in various Atlantic contexts.<sup>19</sup> Like many peripatetic Africans, Do-

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among *Slaves: The True Story of an African Prince Sold into Slavery in the American South* (New York, 1977); Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003); and Randy J. Sparks, *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004). Historians of the South Atlantic have produced greater numbers of biographical studies; these have been more sensitive to shifting, overlapping cultural circuits in the broader Atlantic world. For an early example, see Luiz Mott, *Rosa Egípcia: Uma santa africana no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993). For more recent work, see João José Reis, Flávio dos Santos Gomes, and Marcus J. M. Carvalho, “África e Brasil entre margens: Aventuras e desaventuras do africano Rufino José Maria, c. 1822–1853,” *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 26, no. 2 (2004): 257–302; Mariza de Carvalho Soares, “A biografia de Ignacio Monte, o escravo que virou rei,” in Ronaldo Vainfas, Georgina Silva dos Santos, and Guilherme Pereira das Neves, eds., *Retratos do Império: Trajetórias individuais no mundo português nos séculos XVI a XIX* (Niterói, 2006), 47–68; and João José Reis, *Domingos Sodré: Um sacerdote africano* (São Paulo, 2008). For the rare case of a biography that links the North and South Atlantic, see Paul E. Lovejoy and Robin Law, eds., *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton, N.J., 2001).

<sup>17</sup> The representativeness of these cosmopolitan, culturally fluid Africans in the Atlantic world is difficult to quantify. Most probably worked on board ships or as personal body servants, accompanying their masters back and forth between the Americas and European metropolises. Although they were a distinct minority, their numbers were not insignificant. In the 1720s, an African-born slave in the Portuguese city of Porto revealed a network of twenty-five slaves in the city who manufactured and distributed “Mandinga” charms. Of these twenty-five men, eighteen had once lived in Brazil, two were the slaves of Englishmen, and two more worked on merchant ships. Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Inquisição de Coimbra, Processos, no. 1630 (Luís de Lima). For a further discussion, see James H. Sweet, “Slaves, Convicts, and Exiles: African Travelers in the Portuguese-Atlantic World, 1720–1750,” in Caroline A. Williams, ed., *Bridging Early Modern Atlantic Worlds: People, Products, and Practices on the Move* (London, forthcoming). For a treatment of seafaring Africans in North America, see W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

<sup>18</sup> I am aware of critiques that reject the term “identity” as a meaningful category of analysis. Frederick Cooper and Rogers Brubaker, for instance, have called for scholars to disaggregate the many meanings of identity, among them “identification,” “categorization,” and “self-understanding.” Where possible, I use these terms as alternatives to a homogenized “identity.” However, as I show, archival documents often do the work of reifying “identity” in precisely the ways that Cooper and Brubaker critique. By faithfully adhering to documentary identities as “real” or “true” evidence, scholars actually reinforce these static, essentialized “identities” that ignore the vicissitudes of power and subjectivity. Frederick Cooper and Rogers Brubaker, “Beyond Identity,” *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1–47.

<sup>19</sup> Throughout this article, all references to Domingos Álvares come from his Inquisition case: Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Inquisição de Évora, Processos, no. 7759, discussed in greater detail below.



mingos remained a subject of Western institutional power for much of his life, constantly vulnerable to social dislocation and to being cut off from community ties that defined African conceptions of “selfhood” and freedom, conceptions that stood in sharp contrast to emerging European ideas of enlightened individualism.<sup>20</sup> Chronic instability rendered group “belonging” more elusive for Africans than for other Atlantic actors. Ultimately, the imperative of collective identification as an affirmation of self, along with the realities of social instability, had a profound effect on how Africans such as Domingos forged their identities in the Atlantic world.

Domingos Álvares was born in present-day Benin around 1710.<sup>21</sup> As a young man, he was initiated into the priesthood of vodun, the dominant religion of the Fon-Gbe-speaking region.<sup>22</sup> Years later, he still bore the physical markings of his various rites of passage—piercings in each ear and in his nose, and filed teeth. During the late 1720s, Domingos witnessed firsthand the violence unleashed by the powerful empire of Dahomey, as its army conquered vast regions in the Bight of Benin. He saw friends and family perish, including his own parents. Others, among them Domingos himself, were captured and sold into slavery.

Enslaved around 1730 and carried to Pernambuco, Brazil, Domingos worked on several large sugar plantations in the region.<sup>23</sup> He gained a reputation as a powerful diviner and healer, but his powers could also be used toward malevolent ends. Accused of poisoning his master, he spent time in a Recife jail before being sold to Rio de Janeiro in 1737. When Domingos arrived in Rio, his reputation had preceded him. Indeed, he was purchased by a man who specifically intended to use his new slave’s skills to heal his ailing wife. When this experiment failed, Domingos was sold to yet another master, who determined that he could earn money from Domingos’s cures. Plying his itinerant healing practice throughout the city, Domingos split his profits with his new master, eventually earning his freedom. He quickly capitalized on his status as a freedman, opening several healing centers around Rio. He also established a vibrant ritual community just south of the city, consisting primarily of his “Mina” countrymen.

In 1742, agents of the Portuguese Holy Office arrested Domingos on a charge of witchcraft and sent him to Lisbon for trial. He left behind a wife, a newborn child, and a devoted community of ritual adherents. During his trial, he insisted that his cures were “natural” remedies learned from elders in his African homeland. Despite

<sup>20</sup> On the crucial importance of group affiliations in determining individual autonomy and power in Africa and the diaspora, see Joseph C. Miller, “Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering: Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Africa and under Slavery in Brazil,” in José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (Amherst, N.Y., 2004), 81–121.

<sup>21</sup> His birth date is based on his statement in March 1743 that he was “thirty four years old more or less.” Four years later, in October 1747, he claimed that he was “forty years old.”

<sup>22</sup> The vodun belief system asserts a mutual interdependence between the temporal world and the world of the spirits. Vodun spirits are most often associated with natural forces—lightning, thunder, wind, earth, iron, and so on. Vodun priests (vodunon) are ritual experts who mediate between the living and the voduns, embodying the spirits through possession, prescribing offerings of food and drink to the spirits, etc. The ultimate goal of the religion is reciprocity, balance, calm, patience, and composure. On the etymology of “vodun,” see Suzanne Preston Blier, *African Vodun: Art, Psychology, and Power* (Chicago, 1995), 37–47. For a description of the belief system more generally, see Melville J. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2 vols. (1938; repr., Evanston, Ill., 1967).

<sup>23</sup> The date of his enslavement is based on the timing of warfare in his homeland (1728–1732), as well as the timing of the bankruptcy of the plantation on which he served in Goiana (1733).



his compelling testimony, the inquisitors believed that Domingos had made a “pact with the devil.” They sentenced him to exile in Castro Marim, a small frontier village in the extreme southeast corner of Portugal. From there, Domingos wandered hundreds of miles across the Portuguese Algarve, trying to cobble together a living by selling sardines, divining the location of buried treasures, and continuing to heal. In 1747, he again drew the attention of the Inquisition for allegedly burying malevolent objects under a woman’s verandah. He was arrested again and spent almost two years in jail before being found guilty of witchcraft. In 1749, inquisitors banished Domingos to Bragança, in the far north of Portugal. Unfortunately, he disappears from the record at this juncture, a forty-year-old African making at least the fifth forced migration of his lifetime.

Most of what we know about Domingos comes from the two Inquisition cases brought against him. The first emerged from accusations made in Rio de Janeiro in 1741 and 1742, the second from charges lodged in the Portuguese Algarve between 1745 and 1747. The contents of these two *processos* can be found in a single manuscript, more than six hundred pages long, housed in Portugal’s national archive.<sup>24</sup> Included among the documents are transcriptions of notarial reports, reports by agents of the Inquisition, letters of denunciation, and procedural documents. The bulk of the file, however, consists of testimonies provided by Domingos and more than three dozen others who knew him in Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and the Algarve. Those who testified in the cases came from all walks of life—slave trader, blacksmith, brickmaker, soldier, barber, businessman, street hawker, priest, farmer, and slave. They included men and women, Brazilian, Portuguese, Spaniard, and African. Some voluntarily denounced Domingos for his “crimes”; others were called to testify by inquisitors. While we must be mindful of the varied contexts in which the testimonies emerged, when these documents are read across space and time, they provide fascinating insight into the complicated matrix of Domingos’s identity, demonstrating the interplay between his own self-understandings and the interpolations of those he encountered in various Atlantic settings.

Although we know that Domingos was born in West Africa sometime around 1710, the precise location of his birth is far from obvious. In his 1743 confession before the Inquisition, he declared that he was “born in Nangô on the Mina Coast.” He also stated that “his parents [we]re already dead and they were called in the language of his land, the father, Afenage, and the mother, Oconon, both born and raised in Nangon on the Mina Coast.” Although the ethnonym “Nagô” would later come to represent Yoruba identity in the Atlantic world, it was rarely used during Domingos’s lifetime.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the first known use of the term in Africa occurred in

<sup>24</sup> Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Inquisição de Évora, Processos, no. 7759.

<sup>25</sup> I have seen descriptions of thousands of Africans in state and church records for Rio de Janeiro up until 1770, and with the exception of this one case, I have never encountered the term “Nagô,” or anything approximating it. The earliest Brazilian references that I am aware of come from Minas Gerais, where, in a sample of 1,239 Africans taken from tax rolls in 1723, two were identified as Nago, one as Nagoa, one as Nagom, and one as Anago. Moacir Rodrigo de Castro Maia, “Quem tem padrinho não morre pagão: As relações de compadrio e apadrinhamento de escravos numa vila colonial (Mariana, 1715–1750)” (Ph.D. diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2006), 44. Similarly, in a sample of 354 Africans taken from estate inventories between 1725 and 1759, Kathleen J. Higgins found three identified as Nago. Higgins, “*Licentious Liberty*” in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: *Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park, Pa., 1999), 74.

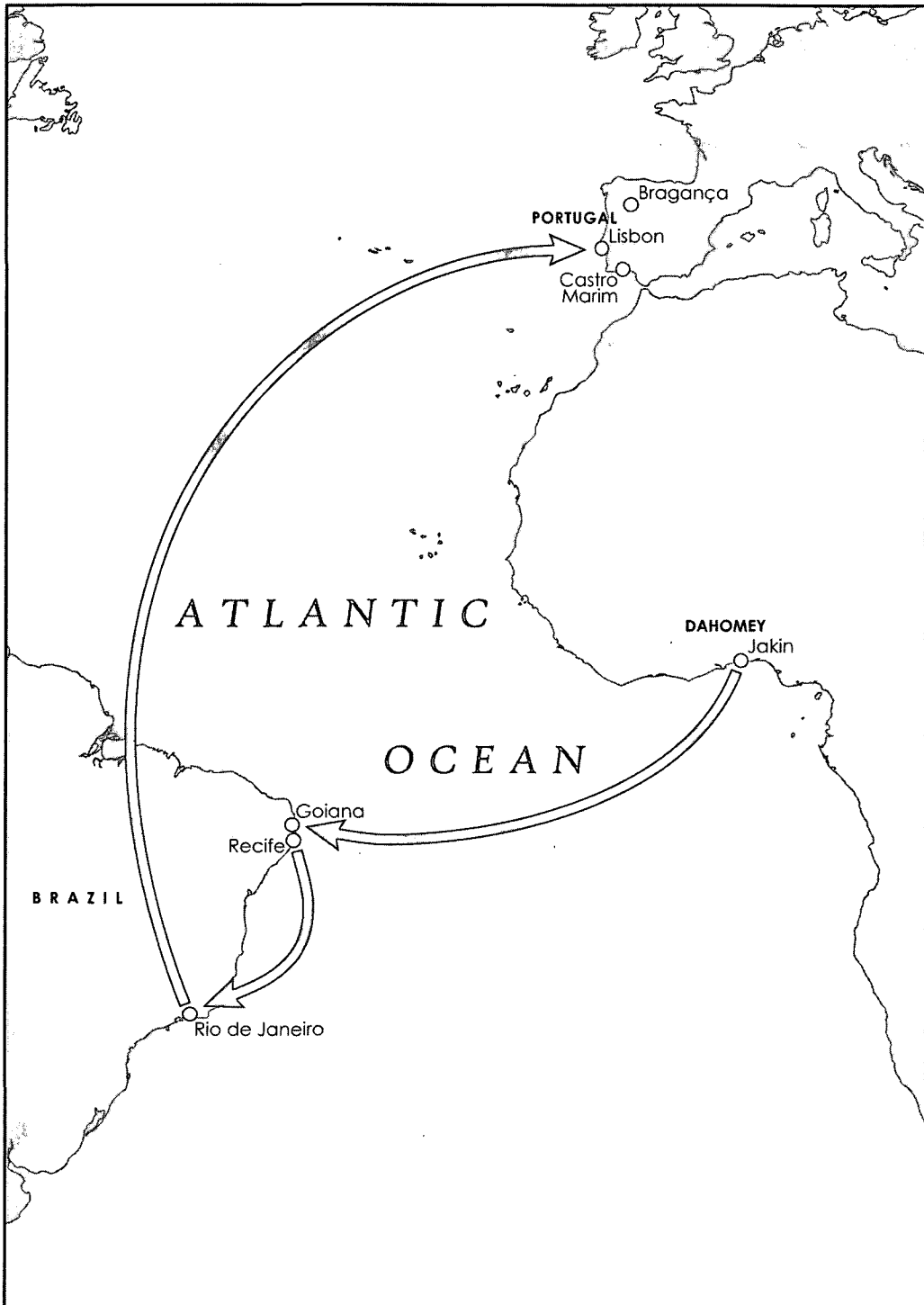


FIGURE 1: The Atlantic Travels of Domingos Álvares, 1730–1749. Map by Daniel Huffman, University of Wisconsin Cartography Lab.

1725, shortly before Domingos arrived in Brazil.<sup>26</sup> In this early period, the term most often referred to the sub-ethnic Anago group, located in present-day southwest Nigeria. Scholars generally agree that a broader Yoruba identity coalesced in Africa only during the nineteenth century, although some suggest that “Yoruba” was an even later invention of the Atlantic world, and not an identification with deep historical roots in the Bight of Benin.<sup>27</sup>

Despite Domingos’s specific claim that he was from Nangô/Nangon, the majority of people whom he encountered in the Atlantic world saw him in much broader terms. Nearly every person who testified before the Inquisition in Brazil claimed simply that he was from the “Mina nation.” Slaveholders generally delineated the “Costa da Mina” as a region that includes present-day Ghana, Togo, and Benin, although after 1721, the vast majority of slaves bound for Brazil passed through the Portuguese fort at Ouidah (Benin). During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, these so-called Minas easily constituted the largest group of enslaved Africans arriving in Brazil. In Pernambuco alone, nearly 35,000 Minas arrived between 1722 and 1732, representing 84 percent of slave imports during the period.<sup>28</sup> Reflecting the dominant mixture of Ewe, and especially Fon, elements in the slave population, a *lingua franca* known as the *lingua geral de Mina* emerged in Brazil. This Mina language was so prevalent that in 1741, a Portuguese settler in the interior mining regions published a Portuguese/Mina word list and conversation manual.<sup>29</sup> The emergence of a coherent Mina nation in Brazil is perhaps best exemplified in Catholic brotherhoods such as Santo Elesbão e Santa Efigênia, founded by a congregation of “black Minas” in Rio de Janeiro in the 1740s. Here, “Minas” from various areas of “provenance”—Savalus, Agonlis, Mahis, and Dahomeys—came together to form one broadly conceived sociocultural unit.<sup>30</sup>

Although a certain uniformity emerged in the Mina nation of Brazil by the 1740s, it was the culmination of a complicated process of group formation that had unfolded during the late 1720s and 1730s. Between 1725 and 1727, slave traders delivered

<sup>26</sup> Renand des Marchais, *Voyage du chevalier des Marchais en Guinée, isles voisines, et à Cayenne, fait en 1725, 1726, & 1727* (Paris, 1730), 125.

<sup>27</sup> Robin Law, “Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: ‘Lucumi’ and ‘Nago’ as Ethnonyms in West Africa,” *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205–219. For the argument that Yoruba was formed in the diaspora, see J. Lorand Matory, “The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of the Yoruba Nation,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 1 (1999): 72–103; and Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*. Biodun Adediran has challenged the notion that Yoruba identity emerged only in the nineteenth century, instead arguing that the Yoruba subgroups of the pre-colonial period consciously shared linguistic, religious, and historical similarities. Adediran, “Yoruba Ethnic Groups or a Yoruba Ethnic Group? A Review of the Problem of Ethnic Identification,” *África: Revista do Centro de Estudos Africanos da USP* 7 (1984): 57–70; and Adediran, *The Frontier States of Western Yorubaland, 1600–1889* (Ibadan, 1994).

<sup>28</sup> Eltis et al., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*.

<sup>29</sup> Antonio da Costa Peixoto, *Obra nova da lingua geral de Mina* (1741; repr., Lisbon, 1945). See also Olabiya Yai, “Texts of Enslavement: Fon and Yoruba Vocabularies from Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Brazil,” in Lovejoy, *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, 102–112. This *lingua geral* also became prominent in West Africa itself. In his travels in the Bight of Benin in the late eighteenth century, the English trader Archibald Dalzel noted that “the language is that which the Portuguese call *lingua geral*, or general tongue, and is spoken not only in Dahomy-proper, but in Whydah, and the other dependent states; and likewise in Mahee, and several neighbouring provinces.” Dalzel, *The History of Dahomy, an Inland Kingdom of Africa*, second printing with intro by J. D. Fage (1793; repr., London, 1967), v.

<sup>30</sup> On the ethnic makeup of the Catholic brotherhoods, see Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *Devotos da cor: Identidade étnica, religiosidade e escravidão no Rio de Janeiro, século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro, 2000), 200–201.

more than 4,800 slaves from the Mina coast to Pernambuco every year. The trade dropped precipitously over the next five years, averaging barely 2,300 per year.<sup>31</sup> This rapid decline is attributable primarily to changing conditions in the Bight of Benin, where exports decreased after Dahomey conquered Ouidah in 1727. For the brief period between 1728 and 1732, Jakin replaced Ouidah as the major slave export center of the region.<sup>32</sup> On the Brazilian side of the trade, political changes in Africa resulted in a more heterogeneous group of Mina slaves. Among those who would have gradually entered Brazil were slaves from regions north and east of Dahomey, later defined as “Mahi” and “Nagô.”

Domingos was apparently caught up in this early shift in the Mina trade. When he arrived in Brazil, his distinctiveness was not lost on those Minas who were already resident there. One of the people called to testify before the Inquisition in Rio de Janeiro was an enslaved woman named Thereza, who was from Allada, in southern Benin. Thereza had known Domingos since their days together as slaves in Pernambuco. As someone who had become acquainted with him soon after he arrived from Africa, she was well positioned to comment on his background. In one brief but revealing statement, Thereza declared that she and Domingos “supposedly were both from the same Mina Coast; however, she is from the Arda nation and he is from Cobû, which are different lands.” Her testimony, delivered in front of Rio’s chief inquisitorial officer and two Catholic priests, may have been intended to distance her from Domingos; however, the specificity of her distinction is crucial. How Thereza knew that Domingos was not from the “same” Mina coast is difficult to discern, although we can surmise that he did not easily adapt to the sociocultural milieu dominated by Minas from Weme (1716), Allada (1724), and Ouidah (1727)—all regions that had recently been conquered by Dahomey.<sup>33</sup> At the very least, Thereza’s distinction reminds us that Africans sometimes challenged the coherence of slaveholding categories such as “Mina.”

Thereza’s assertion that Domingos was “Cobû” is perhaps the most intriguing and confusing aspect of his several documented identities. While references to Cobûs are exceedingly rare in Brazilian documents, they seem to have peaked in the 1720s and 1730s, during precisely the period in which the geographic boundaries of the Mina trade were beginning to expand.<sup>34</sup> The derivation of “Cobû” has been a subject of speculation and outright guesswork on the part of scholars. Since the year 2000, Brazilian researchers have come to a handful of seemingly contradictory conclusions in their assessments of its meaning. In all of these instances, scholars employ the rather haphazard method of searching for place names or ethnic groups in Africa

<sup>31</sup> Eltis et al., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. See also Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Conselho Ultramarino, Pernambuco, Caixa 42, Doc. 3786 (January 16, 1732).

<sup>32</sup> Viceroy of Brazil to Lisbon, April 29, 1730, quoted in Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia, 17th–19th Century* (Ibadan, 1976), 125–126.

<sup>33</sup> For the best historical account of Dahomey’s rise to power, see Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550–1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society* (Oxford, 1991).

<sup>34</sup> Cobûs were less than 1 percent of the African population in the samples taken by Laird Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888* (Cambridge, 1999), and James H. Sweet, “Manumission in Rio de Janeiro, 1749–1754: An African Perspective,” *Slavery and Abolition* 24, no. 1 (2003): 56. In a sample of 1,239 Africans in Minas Gerais in 1723, Maia found 23 Cobûs—21 men and 2 women. Maia, “Quem tem padrinho não morre pagão,” 44. Finally, Higgins found that Cobûs represented roughly 4 percent of Africans in Sabará between 1725 and 1759, decreasing to only 2 percent between 1760 and 1808. Higgins, “*Licentious Liberty*,” 74.

that approximate the ethnographic labels found in American documents. Thus, one historian suggests that Cobû may have been a corruption of “Kuvu,” the name of a river south of Luanda in present-day Angola.<sup>35</sup> Another argues that Cobûs came from the Upper Guinea coast, more specifically from the kingdom of “Kaabu.”<sup>36</sup> A third interpretation suggests that Cobû derives from a town by the same name in the northern interior of Benin (“Kobu”).<sup>37</sup>

Given the contradictions in various interpretations of Cobû, we must look to other sources to determine its significance. Even though the Benin trade declined from 1728 to 1732, Mina slaves still represented 86 percent of arrivals into Pernambuco.<sup>38</sup> On numerical grounds alone, Benin seems the most likely source for Cobû. Furthermore, the linguist Yeda Pessoa de Castro has suggested that “Cobû” derives from a Fon description of the people in the Agonli-Cové region of Benin.<sup>39</sup> During the late 1720s and early 1730s, Agonli-Cové was squeezed between the militaries of two competing empires, Òyó to its northeast and Dahomey to its southwest. Beginning in 1728 and continuing for three years straight, Òyó marched on Dahomey every dry season in an attempt to overthrow the Dahomean king, Agaja. Agaja retaliated by sending his army to the region, remaining there from May 1731 until March 1732. During these raids, many villages were destroyed. Survivors were enslaved or became refugees, fleeing farther northward. Eventually these diverse groups of refugees came together to form a new kingdom known as Ìdàísà.<sup>40</sup>

It was during these battles between 1728 and 1732 that the army of Dahomey likely enslaved Domingos Álvares. Not only does the timing align perfectly with Domingos’s arrival in Brazil, but his claim that he was from “Nangô” is lent considerable weight by the existence of a town in the Agonli-Cové region called Naogon. At first blush, one might conclude that he was claiming a proto-Yoruba identity. However, his insistence that he was “from” Nangô, “born in” Nangon, etc., makes it likely that Nangô (or Nangon) was a place name rather than a description of group identification. Thus, Domingos’s increasingly expanding Atlantic identity is probably best understood in the triplicate: he was a Mina-Cobû from the village of Naogon—Mina representing a broad “metaethnic” category, imposed by Europeans on a relatively heterogeneous group of slaves from the so-called Mina coast; Cobû representing a more narrow “ethnic” distinction, made internally among these Minas; and Naogon representing his place of birth.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Eduardo França Paiva, *Escravidão e universo cultural na colônia: Minas Gerais, 1716–1789* (Belo Horizonte, 2001), 71.

<sup>36</sup> Soares, *Devotos da cor*, 109.

<sup>37</sup> Mariza de Carvalho Soares, “A ‘nação’ que se tem e a ‘terra’ de onde se vem: Categorias de inserção social de africanos no Império português, século XVIII,” *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 26, no. 2 (2004): 323 n. 19; Soares, “Indícios para o traçado das rotas terrestres de escravos na baía do Benim, século XVIII,” in Soares, ed., *Rotas atlânticas da diáspora africana: Da Baía do Benim ao Rio de Janeiro* (Niterói, 2007), 75, 85, 94 n. 32.

<sup>38</sup> Eltis et al., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*.

<sup>39</sup> According to Yeda Pessoa de Castro, “Cobû” is a Portuguese corruption of “Cové-nu,” meaning “born in Cové” in the Fon language. Pessoa de Castro, *A língua mina-jeje no Brasil: Um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII* (Belo Horizonte, 2002), 131–135.

<sup>40</sup> I. A. Akinjogbin, *Dahomey and Its Neighbors, 1708–1818* (Cambridge, 1967), 83–99; Adediran, *The Frontier States of Western Yorubaland*, 102–110; Adediran, “Ìdàísà: The Making of a Frontier Yorùbá State,” *Cahiers d’études africaines* 24, no. 1 (1984): 71–85.

<sup>41</sup> On the distinctions between “metaethnicity” and “ethnicity,” see Parés, *A formação do candomblé*, 24–29.

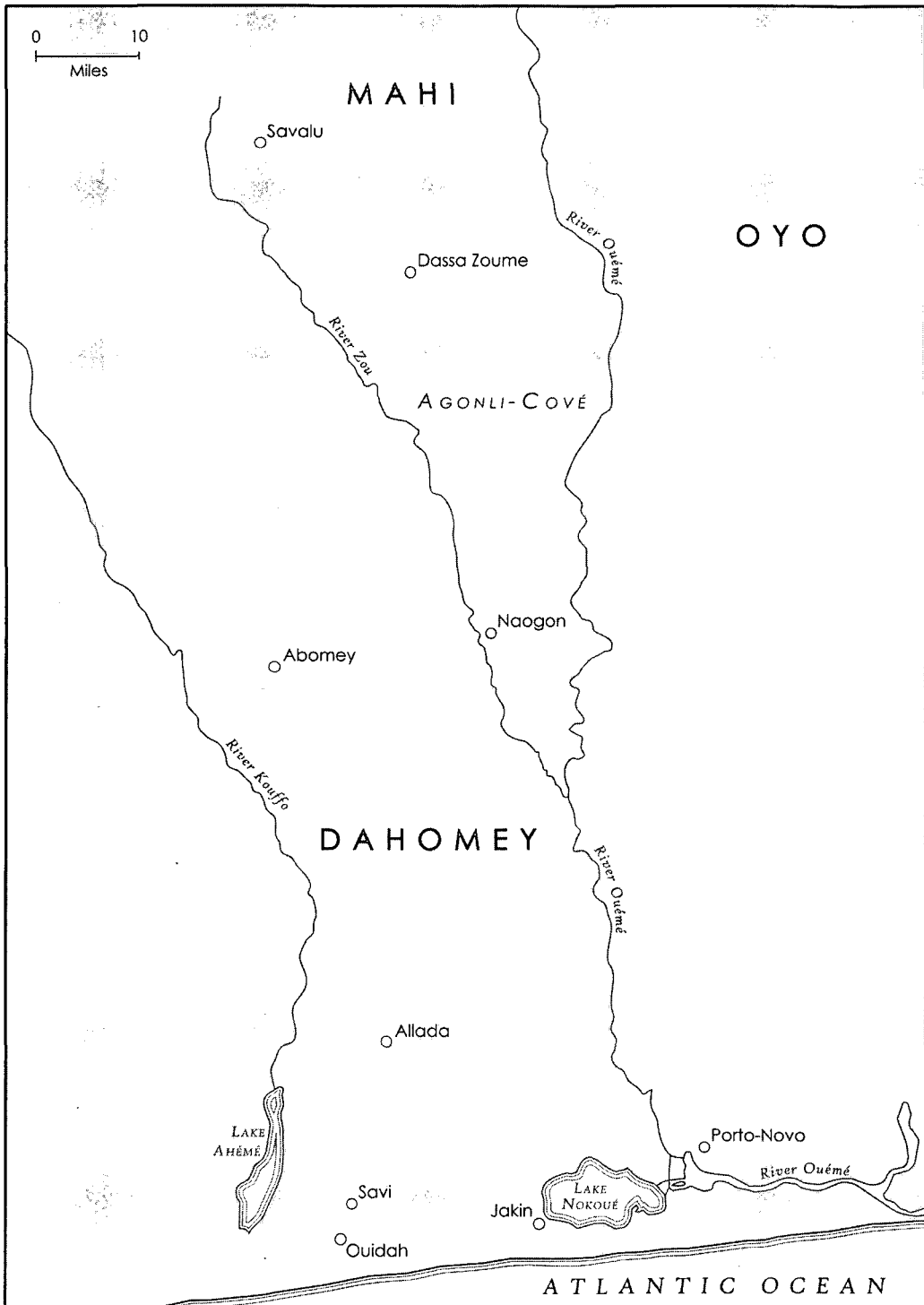


FIGURE 2: The Bight of Benin, circa 1730. Map by Daniel Huffman, University of Wisconsin Cartography Lab.



Thereza's distinction between herself (Arda) and Domingos (Cobû) can ultimately be interpreted as a statement on their political positions in the disputes with Dahomey. Allada was a longstanding, if declining, kingdom, widely recognized as the heartland of Fon history and culture. Across the region, political and spiritual leaders denounced Dahomey's conquest of Allada as illegitimate. Thereza viewed herself as rightfully a subject of Allada.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, Domingos was on the leading edge of a new wave of Brazilian slaves from the politically acephalous interior regions of Benin that allied themselves with Òyó. From the African perspective, he did not fit the profile of many of the Mina slaves who had preceded him. This outsider status clearly retained its salience in the slave communities of Brazil, at least for the early years of the 1730s.

Thereza Allada was not the only commentator to distinguish between Minas and Cobûs during the 1730s. Describing the ability of Africans to respond to illness in Brazil's gold-mining regions, a Portuguese doctor named Luis Gomes Ferreyra wrote: "Cobûs and Angolas . . . are very sluggish, and those from the Mina nation [are] very tough."<sup>43</sup> The cultural distinctions between these peoples were apparently significant enough to merit comment in the 1730s, but there is little evidence to suggest that they persisted. The differences between Mina and Cobû appeared sharp in Brazil precisely because of the preponderance of slaves who had arrived from Dahomey-dominated regions south of Abomey prior to 1727. As Cobûs arrived in Brazil in the 1720s and 1730s, they appeared to be something altogether new. This snapshot moment of apparent difference quickly gave way to the realization that small numbers of Cobûs were just one more variation of Mina. These Cobûs joined others from "Mahi" territories—Savalus, Iannos, etc.—who collectively became known as "Jejes" in Brazil by the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

While ethnographic signifiers provide good clues as to Domingos's African identities, qualitative evidence in the documents also yields crucial information about his African past. In presenting his genealogy to inquisitors in Lisbon, Domingos offered the names of his parents, Afenage and Oconon, which can be traced to Fon-derived descriptions of the earth vodun, Sakpata.<sup>45</sup> In a document confirming Domingos's arrival in Castro Marim in August 1744 to serve out the term of his exile, a Portuguese notary described him as "fifty years, more or less, preto buçal, short and stout of body, with one tooth filed on the top part of the jaw, and in correspondence on

<sup>42</sup> It is important to note that externally ascribed "categories" of identity were not solely an assertion of European power; they could also be African. One finds similar political distinctions in the names applied to slaves in the Spanish-speaking Atlantic. Aguirre Beltran notes that "Ardas" (those from Allada) were distinguished from "Araras" (those in the interior north of Abomey). Araras arrived in places such as Cuba with double names—"Arara agicon," "Arara magino," and "Arara savalu." "Arara" represented a broad metaethnic region (similar to "Mina"), while the second word represented the particular nation or people. Among those arriving in Cuba were Arara cuevano, almost certainly the equivalent of the Brazilian Cobû. On the distinctions between Arda and Arara, see Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran, "San Thome," *Journal of Negro History* 31, no. 3 (1946): 321–322.

<sup>43</sup> Luis Gomes Ferreyra, *Erario Mineral* (Lisbon, 1735), 81.

<sup>44</sup> For a brilliant discussion of the development and evolution of "Jeje" identity in West Africa and Brazil, see Parés, *A formação do candomblé*.

<sup>45</sup> The word "vodun" represents both the belief system and the deities that encompass it; thus Sakpata is the earth god. "Afenage" is the name of one of the most powerful descendant qualities of Sakpata, while "Oconon" means "mother of the land" in the Fon language. To this end, both were ritual titles as well as names. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 2: 142; R. P. B. Seguro, *Dictionnaire Fon-Français*, 2 vols. (Cotonou, 1963), 2: 448, 1: 298, 2: 408.

the bottom part he has two that are so far apart that he seems to be lacking one tooth, with two crippled fingers on his right hand, both ears are pierced with vestiges of the same on the left side of his nose.”<sup>46</sup> Obviously, Domingos was marked by the rigors of his servitude; the mention of his “crippled” fingers is clear enough evidence of that. The other body markings, however—filed teeth and piercings—were indicative of ritual experiences in his homeland.

There seems to be no documentary evidence that the peoples from central Benin filed their teeth during the eighteenth century. Modern anthropological evidence, however, suggests that dental modification was common among adolescents in Dahomey in the 1930s. According to Melville Herskovits, Dahomean boys between the ages of twelve and fifteen subjected themselves to tooth removal and tooth filing mostly for aesthetic reasons, although it was said of a man who had not submitted to this ritual that “his oxen have horns that are not separated.”<sup>47</sup> Similarly, ear and nose piercing was consistent with male body adornment among men in northern and central Benin. As early as the seventeenth century, Jesuit father Alonso de Sandoval noted that the only physical sign of “Lecumies barbas” was the piercing on the left side of their nose.<sup>48</sup> More striking, English slave trader Archibald Dalzel wrote in 1793 that among the “Mahees . . . some bore the ears, others the nose, thrusting a bead or a cowrie into the aperture.”<sup>49</sup> The culturally specific markings on Domingos’s body provide us with further clues about his African past.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Domingos’s ritual behavior suggests a strong connection to vodun, the spiritual powers that governed the lives of most people in Benin. He generally cured with various herbs and roots, but a close reading of some of his more elaborate rituals reveals what is likely the presence of vodun spirits. On one occasion in Rio de Janeiro, for example, he orchestrated a ritual at his *terreiro* in which “one white woman, another parda, and many negras” danced in a circle under an orange tree.<sup>50</sup> In the middle of the circle was a pot of water fortified with various leaves and with a knife in the middle. One of the “negras” entered the circle, “dancing and jumping like she was possessed.” Domingos cast some black powders on top of the woman’s head and began asking her questions, calling her “Captain.” The Captain responded by telling him that one woman suffered from witchcraft, others had “this or that illness,” and so on. Eventually Domingos ordered the sick women to put their hands into the pot of water. As they did, they immediately fell to the ground “like dead people.” Domingos approached each one and put his hand on her chest, “proffering words in his own language.” He then opened a wound on one arm and the sole of one foot of each woman and rubbed some black powders into the wounds, claiming that this would “close the women’s bodies so the evil spirits would not return.”

Many of the elements contained in this ritual point to vodun. The location of the

<sup>46</sup> The term *preto buçal* has pejorative connotations. *Preto* simply means “black.” *Boçal* means “rude, loutish, unrefined,” but was most often utilized to describe unacculturated African slaves.

<sup>47</sup> Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 1: 289.

<sup>48</sup> “Lecumies barbas” refers to the Bariba people of Borgu in present-day northern Benin. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (Bogota, 1956), 95–96.

<sup>49</sup> Dalzel, *The History of Dahomy*, xviii.

<sup>50</sup> The word *terreiro* literally means “yard,” or “outdoor space”; in Brazil, however, it has come to be associated with the ritual space for the practice of the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé. This early use of the word in Brazilian documents is therefore significant.

ceremony, which took place under an orange tree, is consonant with the importance of trees in vodun cosmology.<sup>51</sup> The vessel with the knife suggests the power of the god of iron, Gu. The knife was almost certainly an important implement in the possession ritual of the Captain, whose military title invokes Gu's warrior aspect. European military titles had already been adopted and naturalized in Dahomey at this early juncture. In 1727, the English slave trader William Snelgrave observed that the "principal person" at King Agaja's court, "whom the *Negroes* distinguish'd . . . by the title . . . *Great Captain*," presented himself "in the midst of five hundred Soldiers, who had Fire-arms, drawn Swords, Shields, and Banners in their hands."<sup>52</sup> Finally, the choreography of Domingos's ritual—dancing and singing in a circle, followed by spirit possession, divination, and curing—would be familiar to practitioners of vodun religions, Old World and New.

COMBINING ALL OF THE EVIDENCE, we can begin to see the contours of the village-based, kinship-defined spiritual identification that Domingos forged in his homeland, a core of self-understanding that would remain salient as he moved across the Atlantic world. In his homeland, Domingos's sense of "self" was dependent on reciprocal relationships with a religious community that consisted of natal kin, ancestors, ritual adherents, and vodun spirits. Enslavement and shipment to northeast Brazil tore him away from this community. As he attempted to reconstitute a similar selfhood in Pernambuco, he encountered formidable challenges. Slave masters viewed him as simply another Mina slave, destined for backbreaking labor on sugar plantations. Domingos contested this fate, insisting on the freedom to move around, practice healing, and build new spiritual networks. At least one plantation owner issued a standing order to his overseer: If Domingos appeared on their property, he was to be summarily removed. Domingos's master tried to contain his mobility, but Domingos fought back. He allegedly poisoned the master's family, their slaves, and their cattle. His stubborn refusal to adhere to planter expectations eventually landed him in jail and on the auction block, where he was sold away from Pernambuco, a thousand miles south to Rio de Janeiro.

If slave masters sought to mold Domingos into a compliant Mina slave, some enslaved Minas in Pernambuco upheld political distinctions that were salient primarily among different groups of Minas. At least one Arda woman, and perhaps others, recognized Domingos as a Cobû "outsider" during his early days in Pernambuco. These nodes of political difference that distinguished Cobû and Arda as "different lands" in the African context gradually faded in Brazil, as Domingos integrated into the broader Mina category that was imposed on him by slaveholders. This should not come as a surprise. Despite subtle differences in language and slight variations in religious belief, Domingos shared much in common with the lot of Mina slaves from the coastal regions of the Bight of Benin. The fact that he was seen as

<sup>51</sup> On the ritual importance of trees, see Parés, *A formação do candomblé*, 98–99. It is also worth noting that many years later, oranges became a favored offering of the Candomblé deity Osun.

<sup>52</sup> William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave-Trade* (1734; repr., London, 1971), 27–28.

a powerful spiritual person, one who might alleviate the suffering of enslavement, no doubt facilitated his entry into the community.

Domingos's integration into the Mina community quickened when he arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1737. During his time there, he purchased his freedom and established a series of healing clinics, as well as a vodun altar, where the majority of his initiates consisted of Mina men and women. Soon after earning his freedom, he married a Mina woman, who ironically was from Allada, just like his erstwhile friend Thereza. With his wife, their young daughter, and a group of ritual adherents, Domingos literally built a new Mina community from the uncertain and fractured lives of various African pasts. Each of these individual Africans reclaimed selfhood through idioms of kinship, healing, and collective identification that bound the ritual community. Drawing from the most significant elements of their shared African past, including the *lingua geral de Mina* and vodun, they muted past political differences and remade themselves as Mina to address their social alienation in Brazil.

To some extent, slaves' understandings of this new Mina identity overlapped with those of their masters, at least with respect to marking broad regions of African provenance and cultural commonalities. Where the two differed was in their disparate imperatives. For slaveholders, Mina was a category, a taxonomy into which they thrust individuals in order to facilitate surveillance and control over various forms of African property. For the enslaved, Mina developed as one idiom for collective responses to the challenges facing African slaves and their descendants in the Americas. Crucially, these broadened expressions of identity unfolded from *within* African communities, in a process of cultural exchange not unlike "creolization," but without the implications of Europeanization.

Although Domingos "became" Mina during his residence in Brazil, this is not to suggest a teleological or linear progression from a narrower identification to a broader one. Indeed, the narrower identity of Cobû, or even the village-based Naogon, no doubt inflected his leadership of his ritual community and could reassert itself in a given circumstance. For example, at around the same time that Domingos arrived in Rio de Janeiro, a group of Mina Africans established a Catholic brotherhood dedicated to Santo Elesbão and Santa Efigênia. This "congregation of black Minas" apparently coexisted peacefully until 1762, when a dispute over political succession within the brotherhood split it along ethnic lines. Interestingly, political fissures in the Brazilian brotherhood mirrored old rivalries from the Bight of Benin, as "Mahi, Agonli, Oyo, [and] Savalu departed the Dahomey group," forming a new, separate "Mahi congregation."<sup>53</sup> As when Thereza recalled that she and Domingos were from "different lands," political divisions of the Bight of Benin reemerged here, trumping the shared affinities among Minas in Brazil. In this way, core ethnic or kinship identifications were never completely subsumed in the Atlantic world; rather, they overlapped and ran parallel to newer and often broadened expressions of identification.

Just as Domingos began to enjoy the fruits of his labors in constructing new lineal and ritual communities, Catholic priests raided one of his healing centers in Rio. Domingos narrowly escaped capture, becoming a fugitive of ecclesiastical justice. He

<sup>53</sup> Soares, *Devotos da cor*, 199–230.

moved around frequently, but he continued to heal and preside over his ritual community. Meanwhile, he was denounced by one of his former masters for introducing a "malignant spirit" into the body of the man's wife. Several other witnesses also came forward to reveal that Domingos was "well known as a fetisher" and "fortune teller" across Rio. Authorities eventually caught up with Domingos; he was arrested, removed from his family and friends, and sent to Lisbon to stand trial for witchcraft.

Domingos endured a year and a half of monotony and suffering in a cramped cell in Lisbon's inquisitorial jail. On rare occasions the inquisitors called him for questioning, menacing him with queries about the substance of his rituals and his alleged pact with the devil. In response to these convoluted and confusing questions, Domingos retreated to his earliest African past. When asked where he was from and where he had learned his cures, he consistently answered that he was from Nangon and that he had learned everything from his kinsmen. He also noted that everything he used in healing was "natural," and that these same cures had worked for him since the time he lived in Nangon. Unmoved by his explanations, the inquisitors ordered that he be tortured on the *potro*, a device that used a series of cords to squeeze the arms and legs, eventually crushing the bones. Only when he cried for the mercy of Jesus and the Virgin Mary did they release him from the torture.

When Domingos arrived in the south of Portugal to serve out the term of his four-year exile, the category *Mina* no longer had much relevance, mostly because there were so few Africans in the region. For some Portuguese, he was just a *negro boçal*, implying an uneducated, unacculturated African. That was how he was described by the notary when he arrived in Castro Marim in August 1744. Others got to know Domingos well enough to learn that he was from the *Mina* coast. For example, in the village of Portimão, one woman claimed that Domingos had told her he was from the "Costa da Mina." In the village of Farragudo, however, he led people to believe that he was from Angola. Leonor Alonso stated that when Domingos arrived at her house to perform a cure, "it arose that he was from Angola and that he had been punished by the Holy Office." Caterina Jozepha was more emphatic. She was certain that he "was born in Angola because he told her so." If this was the case, Domingos clearly acquiesced to the expectations of his uneducated rural clientele, some of whom probably equated all Africans with the category "Angola."<sup>54</sup> Becoming "Angolan" was simply one more strategy for negotiating the unfriendly confines of southern Portugal, where Domingos struggled to find even the most basic sustenance.

Domingos did whatever it took to survive, moving quickly from one place to the next. In one town he sold sardines. In another he claimed that he could uncover buried treasures. And in others he continued to cure. Along the way, he continually remade himself to adhere to Portuguese expectations. When he divined the location of buried treasures, he drew upon an ancient Portuguese legend claiming that Moors had left untold riches in the Algarve hundreds of years earlier. These treasures were

<sup>54</sup> There are numerous reasons for this association. Portugal maintained strong historical ties to Angola going back to the late fifteenth century and asserted a colonial presence along the coast there from 1575. Until the early eighteenth century, roughly 90 percent of slaves arriving in Portuguese territories, especially Brazil, were coming from Angola. Thus, the ideological and human representation of Africa for Portugal's most isolated metropolitan subjects was "Angola." Not surprisingly, colonial Brazil had a much more sophisticated understanding of Africa's complex histories and peoples.



supposedly guarded by enchanted Moors who could take the form of giant snakes.<sup>55</sup> Domingos said he had learned about this myth only after meeting an innkeeper named Bras Gonçalves. When Gonçalves discovered that Domingos had been exiled for witchcraft, he assumed that Domingos “must be familiar with the gold in the countryside and how to divine hidden treasures.” Given his “great need” and the promise that “that path would reward him,” Domingos acquiesced to Gonçalves’s presumptions, taking food and money in exchange for advice on how to find the treasures. According to the denunciations of Gonçalves and others, Domingos told them that he had spoken to the half-serpent, half-humans protecting the treasures, and they had given him permission to take them away.<sup>56</sup>

The myth of the buried Moorish treasures was not the only Portuguese belief that Domingos used for his own purposes. On other occasions, he infused Christian prayer and ritual into his healing ceremonies. For instance, several witnesses reported that he preceded and concluded his ceremonies by making the sign of the cross. Despite these blandishments, Domingos continued to utilize rituals that resonated with his African past. On several occasions he passed live chickens over the bodies of people suffering from illnesses, a ritual designed to sweep away evil spirits. He also prepared curative baths for his patients, using herbs and roots with which he was familiar, but probably adding new ones as well.<sup>57</sup> Eventually, one of his patients accused him of witchcraft. In retribution for the woman’s refusal to pay for a cure, Domingos left a bundle of “evil” at her door, which included a “doll” with thirty-nine pins in it, human hair, dog hair, chicken feathers, bones, sulfur, glass, pepper, corn, and grave dirt. This stereotypical “voodoo doll” was in fact a figural representation of his nemesis—a *vodun bochio* (literally “empowered cadaver”).<sup>58</sup> With each pin he stuck in the “doll,” Domingos would have cursed the woman to suffering until such time that she rendered payment.<sup>59</sup>

When the Inquisition prosecuted Domingos a second time, he again claimed that his cures were natural, and that he had learned them in Nangon. The only modification he made to the testimony from his first trial was to note that he was now using Christian prayers. He also noted that some of the rituals he used in Portugal he had learned “from the whites in Brazil.” As he was shuttled off to serve his exile in the mountains of Bragança, Domingos Álvares was the sum of his many-traveled, interchangeable parts—Cobû, Mina, Brazilian, Portuguese, vodun priest, and even

<sup>55</sup> Rodney Gallop, *Portugal: A Book of Folk-Ways* (1936; repr., Cambridge, 1961), 77–80.

<sup>56</sup> Although it might be a stretch to think that Domingos actually “talked” to snakes, it is worth noting that snakes were also feared and revered in Dahomey, where the snake god, Da, was believed to capriciously “give and take away.” According to Dahomean myth, when the deity Mawu began creating the world, she was carried from place to place in the mouth of the serpent. Wherever they spent the night, the excrement from the snake became mountains. “That is why when a man digs into a mountain slope, he finds riches.” Quoted from Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 2: 248–249. For a broader description of the meaning of Da, see *ibid.*, 245–255. For eighteenth-century descriptions of snake “worship” in Dahomey, see Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave-Trade*, 10–14.

<sup>57</sup> In his travels across southern Portugal, Domingos encountered people who were already predisposed to forms of “folk medicine” and healing similar to the ones he performed. On popular forms of healing in Portugal, see Timothy D. Walker, *Doctors, Folk Medicine, and the Inquisition: The Repression of Magical Healing in Portugal during the Enlightenment* (Leiden, 2005).

<sup>58</sup> On the definition of *bochio*, see Blier, *African Vodun*, 2.

<sup>59</sup> On the significance of piercing needles in *vodun bochio*, see *ibid.*, 107, 249–251, 287–292.



Christian. But at his core he was still the person he had always claimed to be—the man wrenched from friends, family, rituals, and rites in Naogon twenty years earlier.

IT WOULD BE FOOL'S PLAY TO ASCRIBE a singular identity to someone like Domingos Álvares. Clearly, he was many things to many different people. Reading any of the Inquisition documents in isolation, one might conclude that Domingos fit into any of four different “ethnic” or “national” categories—Nagô, Cobû, Mina, or Angolan. From a purely methodological perspective, this uncertainty reveals a pitfall in the approaches of many scholars who study the identities of enslaved Africans. The tendency of the scholarship has been to focus on collective categories of identity instead of individual identities. This often means looking at “ethnic” or “national” labels in documents recording baptisms, marriages, manumissions, and so on. Unfortunately, this approach provides only a snapshot of a person's identity, without attempting to understand individual, situational experiences over the life course. Although these quantitative analyses might reveal dominant trends among groups of Africans in a particular locale at a given time, they fail to capture the kinds of important historical changes that are brought into sharp relief when individuals are studied.

Domingos's case illustrates this perfectly, but there are other examples. To take an instance from my own research, in September 1711, Jacinta Angola appeared at her local parish with her mixed-race (*pardo*) husband, Joaquim Ribeiro, for the baptism of their son Agostinho. For the purposes of collecting evidence of group identity, Jacinta was recorded in my data set simply as “Angolan.” But one year later, in December 1712, she and Joaquim Ribeiro returned to the parish for the baptism of their daughter Caetana. This time the priest described Jacinta as a “creole from Guiné.” By virtue of her marriage to a mixed-race man, the fact that she had borne multiple Brazilian children, and her embrace of the Catholic Church, Jacinta shifted from the “Angolan” category into a category of acculturated Africans with no discernible nationality. Whether she embraced this new category of identity is unclear. Indeed, Jacinta's identification as something more closely approximating “Angolan” may well have continued in certain social contexts. In the eyes of the Church, however, she was shedding “Angola” and becoming Brazilian.<sup>60</sup>

A similarly compelling case of overlapping, shifting, and situational identity occurred during the famous *Amistad* slave rebellion of 1839. Among the crew of the Cuban-Spanish slave ship was a sixteen-year-old cabin boy named Antonio, property of the ship's captain, Ramón Ferrer. When the African captives seized control of the ship, they killed Ferrer and the ship's cook, leaving Antonio, José Ruiz, and Pedro Montez as the only surviving crew members. With the help of the young cabin boy, the African rebels ordered Ruiz and Montez to steer the ship toward Africa. According to Ruiz, Antonio was “African by birth, but has lived a long time in Cuba . . . [The rebels] would have killed him, but he acted as an interpreter between us,

<sup>60</sup> Arquivo da Cúria Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro, Santíssimo Sacramento, Freguesia da Sé, Batismos de Escravos, September 11, 1711, and December 12, 1712. For the use of these baptisms to chart collective African trends, see James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 36–37.

as he understood both languages.”<sup>61</sup> Ruiz implies here that Antonio spoke both Spanish and Mende, the predominant language of the Africans on board the *Amistad*. Antonio apparently gained the trust of a number of the Africans. One of them, a man named Burnah, eventually released the boy from the anchor to which he had been bound. When the *Amistad* approached land at Long Island, the rebel leader, Cinque, “told [Antonio] to go on shore” with a small group to investigate and collect food.<sup>62</sup> Antonio clearly was comfortable among the Africans, and they seemed to embrace him, which suggests that he had convincingly fashioned himself as their ally. Nevertheless, when American authorities seized the *Amistad*, Antonio quickly reverted to his identification as a Cuban.

Antonio no doubt believed that he would be safer if he distanced himself from the Africans—a reasonable assumption given the probable fate of those accused of commandeering the ship and murdering its captain. He used his Spanish language skills to recount the rebellion to an American naval officer who served as his interpreter. Before telling his story, Antonio declared that he was Christian and swore his oath before a judge. He even went so far as to tell the district court judge that he had been born in Cuba and not in Africa. He also testified that he wanted to return to his master’s wife in Havana. The court eventually complied with Antonio’s wishes, ordering him remanded to his master’s heirs. Ironically, he was the only *Amistad* captive whom the court left enslaved. Before he could be transported to Havana, however, American abolitionists spirited him away to Montreal, where he lived the rest of his life “beyond the reach of all the slaveholders in the world.”<sup>63</sup> Presumably, Antonio crafted yet another layer of identity in his new Canadian home, one that overlapped and ran parallel with his “African” and “Cuban” identities. Ultimately, as with Domingos and Jacinta, by focusing only on the “African” or only on the “Cuban” parts of Antonio’s identity, we erase the multiple, finely tuned ways in which he presented himself in various social, political, and cultural situations.

In each of the cases presented here, the importance of specific African cultural traits becomes manifest in the exigencies of slavery and the colonial Atlantic world. Numerous scholars have criticized attempts to draw direct connections between African “ethnic” groups and their descendants in the Americas. The violent uprooting of people from their natal homelands, as well as their atomization in the Americas, supposedly meant that Africans shared only the broadest cultural idioms. While there is some merit to this argument, we must also recognize that the majority of Africans who entered the trade as captives had already experienced environmental, social, and political upheavals prior to their Atlantic departures. Thus, important nodes of “ethnic” identification, such as natal kin groups and ancestral homelands, had begun to fracture for many individuals before they ever left Africa. Just as refugees from besieged villages came together to form the new kingdom of Ȫdāisà in eighteenth-century Benin, some of these displaced Africans allied themselves with ethnic “strangers,” reconstituting themselves as new peoples in Africa. Others fled

<sup>61</sup> Testimony of Don José Ruiz, August 29, 1839, as recorded in John Warner Barber, *The History of the Amistad Captives* (New Haven, Conn., 1840), 7.

<sup>62</sup> *Thomas R. Gedney &c. v. The Schooner Amistad, &c.*, U.S. District Court, District of Connecticut, Testimony of Antonio, January 9, 1840.

<sup>63</sup> “Exhibition of the Amistad Blacks—Display of Mendi Learning, Eloquence, and Music,” *New York Herald*, May 13, 1841.

slavery, forming runaway communities that resembled maroon communities in the Americas.<sup>64</sup> At the very least, many Africans who entered the slave trade understood several languages, worshipped multiple deities, and shared broad aesthetic values. Thus, even as ties of lineage and “ethnicity” unraveled as a result of warfare and enslavement, new, broader forms of group identification emerged, even in the African context.

In the diaspora, these broad African group identifications were often expressed as “nation” or “caste.” Those categories were invented by Europeans; however, we must not neglect Africans in this larger identity-making equation. Yes, Europeans sometimes imposed categories of identity that adhered to African ports of departure—Benguela, Caçheu, Ouidah, and so on. And, yes, Europeans sometimes imposed slave identities that were more reflective of the Africans who sold slaves into the trade than of those who were the victims of the trade. But “national” categories never would have endured in the diaspora had there not been some degree of African acquiescence to them. After all, these were essentially cultural categories used by Europeans to help them distinguish (and conduct surveillance on) groups of Africans by language, religion, country marks, and the like. They were useful to Europeans only insofar as they actually reflected some coherence of group identification and self-understanding. While it is certainly important to be mindful of the differences between essential, static “ethnicities” and the more elastic categories of “nation” and “caste,” we must also recognize that “nation” and “caste” were often little more than broadened expressions of “ethnicity,” village; and kin. This can be seen clearly in the case of Domingos, whose primary identification as a native of “Nangon” persisted even as he embraced the broader meaning of the term “Mina” in his marriage and in the construction of his ritual community in Rio de Janeiro. The cultural flexibility that was a necessary response to the conditions of enslavement in Africa simply continued in the diaspora, as categories of identification expanded to meet new social realities.

It is vitally important, of course, that we also look at what people were doing. The concentric, and usually additive, nature of self-understanding in the diaspora is explicitly demonstrated in the case of Domingos Álvares. Different layers of group affiliation and “connectedness” were added over the course of a lifetime, as individuals encountered new settings and new cultural milieus. At the same time, core identifications and self-understandings often remained crucial in making sense of the new. Unfortunately, many scholars seem intent on squeezing African slaves and their descendants into boxes that define them in the singular—as either essentially African or essentially American (read: “creole”)—when, in fact, they often lived in a constantly moving, pluralistic world. As Domingos clearly demonstrates, survival was contingent upon the ability to adapt. Depending on the context and who was dictating the categories of identification, Domingos really was the chameleon-like character who emerges in the documents, shifting his identification (or having it shifted for him) to fit the circumstances. For Thereza Allada, he was Cobû. For most white

<sup>64</sup> For example, on refugees and the creation of new identities in Central Africa, see Beatrix Heintze, *Asilo ameaçado: Oportunidades e consequências da fuga de escravos em Angola no século XVII* (Luanda, 1995); and Joseph Miller, “Central Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade, c. 1490s–1850s,” in Linda M. Heywood, ed., *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (Cambridge, 2002), 46–47.

Brazilians, he was Mina. For a handful of Portuguese, he was Angolan. These interpolated categories of identification were contingent upon the situational dialogues between Domingos and those he encountered in the diaspora. At the same time, Domingos steadfastly maintained beliefs and practices from his Nangon past that sustained him no matter where he went. Those beliefs were never abandoned or shed; if anything, they were probably fortified by the experiences of marginality and suffering that often accompanied slavery, and freedom, in the diaspora.

So what does the story of Domingos Álvares tell us about Olaudah Equiano and the disputes surrounding his “identity”? The documents claiming a South Carolina origin for Equiano are similar in quality to those ascribing to Domingos an “Angolan” identity, or to the *Amistad* cabin boy Antonio a “Cuban” identity. In all three instances, each allegedly made contradictory assertions about his birthplace. Given Equiano’s own claims about his African past, as well as the other contextual evidence he lays out in his narrative linking him to Igbo land, it seems that the burden of proof falls on Carretta to explain the situational contexts that might have inspired claims of a “Carolina” birth. Instead, he takes these documents at face value, and then goes the extra step of suggesting that they may overturn everything we thought we knew about Equiano’s African past. Methodologically, this would be akin to rejecting the preponderance of evidence pointing to Domingos’s origins in the Bight of Benin in favor of the two documents that suggest he was Angolan. The more fruitful historical question is, Why was Equiano characterized as being from “Carolina” at particular moments and times?

As Paul Lovejoy has pointed out, Equiano’s godmother may well have been the one responsible for claiming his Carolina ancestry in his baptismal record. At the end of 1757, less than two years before he was baptized, Equiano noted that he “could now speak English tolerably well.” When he appeared at the baptismal font, he was probably still mastering the language. Would he have fully comprehended the concepts “Eboe” [Igbo] and “African,” let alone have known that he was from these places?<sup>65</sup> How could he have possibly explained his birthplace to an Anglican priest in London? Not only would the priest have had little context for understanding a particular African birthplace, but Equiano’s growing comfort in the Anglo world meant that he “appeared” to be something other than African. Claiming that he was born in South Carolina was likely a matter of expediency and cultural mollification on the part of his godmother, who, incidentally, would later vouch for his African past, noting that he spoke only a few words of English upon his arrival in England.

The entry that corresponds to Equiano on the muster roll of the ship *Racehorse* lists him as “Gustavus Weston,” born in “So. Carolina.” According to Carretta, Equiano was an “able seaman,” receiving “a premium wage for a voyage of high adventure.” Among other tasks, he assisted Dr. Charles Irving in experiments with distilling seawater. Yet Carretta also concedes that Equiano served as Irving’s “personal

<sup>65</sup> Alex Byrd argues that even as an adult, Equiano was “confounded” by the meaning of Eboe. See Alexander X. Byrd, “Eboe, Country, Nation and Gustavus Vassa’s *Interesting Narrative*,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2006): 134. Likewise, James Sidbury argues that Equiano’s sense of himself as “African” coincided with his “true” conversion to Christianity as an adult. Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic* (Oxford, 2007), 39–65.

servant.”<sup>66</sup> The ship was deeply embedded in a North Atlantic world, an Arctic expedition far from African realities. Lovejoy suggests that Equiano may have asserted a South Carolina birthplace in an effort to achieve some sense of “British respectability” on a ship with such lofty scientific aspirations. Or perhaps he was trying to emphasize his role as an “able seaman” versus his role as Irving’s “personal servant.” Among the European-dominated crew, Equiano’s racial difference and his subservience to Irving no doubt served as powerful visual evidence of his social status. Equiano would have been acutely aware of the ways these silent cues could shape attitudes and behaviors toward him. The *pro forma* chore of responding to the muster call would have been fraught with self-reflexive anxiety. Should he embrace his African past, amplifying his role as “personal servant” and perhaps even “slave,” or should he rise to the expectation that a well-paid “able seaman” was more likely to be American-born? It seems he opted for the latter. It is also possible, of course, that these identities were interpolated, thrust on him by a lazy or negligent scribe.<sup>67</sup> Either way, just as with Domingos Álvares’s admission of “Angolan” identity, there are moments in every life when it is easier to adapt to social expectations of identity than it is to adhere to “realities.”

Even if one rejects the methodological challenges to Carretta’s claims, there is still ample evidence in Equiano’s narrative that he was from Igbo land.<sup>68</sup> Carretta suggests that Equiano’s description of his Igbo childhood is a fabrication, but there are simply too many Igbo-language words in the narrative for Equiano to have invented them all. Some of these words, such as the name of his homeland, “Essaka,” are simple labels he could have learned from people outside of Africa.<sup>69</sup> But others, including the words for ritual scarification (“embrenché” = mgburichi) and diviner/healers (“Ah-affoe-way-cah” = Ofo-nwanchi), embodied broader, culturally specific concepts that were not easily articulated for an English readership.<sup>70</sup> Equiano went to some pains to explain these concepts, framing them comparatively in an English epistemology. These uneasy acts of translation point to much deeper understandings of Igbo language and culture that could only be learned through immersion.

Another powerful clue, also related to language, was Equiano’s longstanding anxiety about his sister, who was enslaved along with him but ultimately became separated from him on the African coast. More than six years after his enslavement, he was still mourning her loss. While working on board his master’s ship in the Mediterranean, Equiano went ashore at Gibraltar and recounted his story to a group of people. Immediately, a man responded that he knew where Equiano’s sister could be found. Equiano’s “heart leaped for joy” as the man led him to a “black young

<sup>66</sup> Carretta, *Equiano, the African*, 147–149, and Carretta, “Response to Paul Lovejoy’s ‘Autobiography and Memory,’” 118.

<sup>67</sup> Altogether, three different musters were taken during the journey of the *Racehorse*. In the first two, no birthplace is listed for Equiano. Only in the third does the “So. Carolina” delineation appear. In all three musters, however, the purser inaccurately recorded Gustavus Vassa’s last name—once as “Feston” and twice as “Weston.” At the very least, the purser was inconsistent in his recordkeeping. Carretta, *Equiano, the African*, 147–148.

<sup>68</sup> For the most trenchant critique of Carretta’s treatment of Igbo, see Lovejoy, “Autobiography and Memory.”

<sup>69</sup> Carretta argues that “the possible Igbo words Equiano uses are so few (fewer than ten) that he could easily have learned them outside of Africa.” Carretta, *Equiano, the African*, 9.

<sup>70</sup> On the Igbo terms and their meanings, see Catherine Obianju Acholonu, *The Igbo Roots of Olaudah Equiano: An Anthropological Research* (Owerri, 1989).



woman who was so like my sister, that, at first sight, I really thought it was her: but I was quickly undeceived; and, on talking to her, I found her to be of another nation.”<sup>71</sup> Here two layers of the African past must be erased if one is to sustain the argument that Equiano was born in South Carolina. First, one must reject the existence of his sister and his haunting memories of her loss. Second, one must conclude that when he described the woman as being “of another nation,” he meant a non-African nation. There seems to be no other way to read his statement, other than “on talking to her [*in my language*], I found her to be of another [*African*] nation.” In short, if we believe Carretta’s suggestion of Equiano’s Carolina provenance, the entire Gibraltar episode must have been an invention.

Interestingly, by the end of his narrative, Equiano embraced a sense of belonging to a “country” that included not just Igbo, but all Africans and slaves. In 1776, just three years after the Arctic expedition, he was again employed by Dr. Irving, this time to oversee the establishment of sugar plantations along the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua. In order to obtain slaves for the new plantations, Irving and Equiano traveled to Jamaica, where they boarded a “Guineaman.” According to Equiano, he “chose them all of my own countrymen, some of whom came from Lybia.”<sup>72</sup> Here “countrymen” seems to include Africans writ large.<sup>73</sup> Still later, in expressing his desire to go to West Africa to become a missionary, Equiano again writes of Africa as his “country” and Africans as his “countrymen.”<sup>74</sup> As Alex Byrd argues, Equiano’s uses of “country” and “nation” in his narrative are “tentative and uncertain,” variously describing ethnicity, language, race, local spaces, and, in the end, even continental space.<sup>75</sup>

These apparent inconsistencies reflect the competing social forces that buffeted Equiano as he moved across the Atlantic world. As with Domingos and Antonio, Equiano’s identification with multiple “countries” was not so much a series of positive affirmations of individual identity as it was a persistent grasping for social inclusion. To be sure, some Africans found new and enduring communities of belonging in the slave societies of the Americas, but for those whose lives were defined by the perpetual motion of the Atlantic world, “country” often remained an elusive, contradictory, and ill-defined ideal, a new way of asserting group cohesion and communal identity, but also a marker of profound alienation and instability. Thus, even as we recognize the flexibility, creativity, and resilience that Africans displayed in moving from one identity to the next, we should also recognize that each of these shifts represented a painful rupture with the past.

Instead of analyzing the various disjunctures of African identity as products of

<sup>71</sup> Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano; or, Gustavus Vassa, the African: Written by Himself*, 8th ed. (Norwich, 1794), 89–90.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 307. Lovejoy uses this passage to argue that Equiano chose Igbo speakers for the plantations; however, the reference to Libya calls this conclusion into question. Lovejoy, “Autobiography and Memory,” 332.

<sup>73</sup> Carretta, *Equiano, the African*, 184.

<sup>74</sup> Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 335. James Sidbury convincingly argues that Equiano’s “African” identity was closely tied to his Christian awakening. For Equiano, “African” identity centered on a shared Christian past interrupted by the fragmentation and dispersal of diaspora. The reunification of “Africans” could be achieved only through Christian redemption. Sidbury, *Becoming African in America*, 39–65.

<sup>75</sup> Byrd, “Eboe, Country, Nation,” 123–148.



“inconsistency” or “invention,” perhaps scholars should embrace them on their own terms, as accurate reflections of the social instability and trauma that characterized the histories of so many Africans in the Atlantic world.<sup>76</sup> Approaches to identity that emphasize Enlightenment-style individualism over kith and kin, and chronological, narrative order over starts and stops, simply do not suffice in telling the histories of many Atlantic Africans. Autobiographical narratives such as Equiano’s are exceptional in that they exist at all, to say nothing of their revelations about Africa, slavery, and black life in the Atlantic. That such documents of African lives survive in European languages, in representative forms such as autobiography, following linear, chronological arcs, should raise suspicions about the very production of history. In order to accommodate the Western genre of autobiographical narrativity, Equiano not only had to adhere to particular literary patterns and plots for an English-speaking audience, he also had to obey Western conceptions of individual, “self” history that were representative of other Africans but not necessarily constitutive of them. In this way, the act of writing “self”-biography only reinforced his alienation from group ties of “country” and “nation.” For Atlantic Africans who spoke and thought primarily in Kimbundu or Fon-Gbe or even Igbo, we can imagine not only a very different language in the telling of a life story, but perhaps even different ideas about history itself, alternative epistemologies of violence, rupture, erasure of kinship, and the quest for communal redemption.

For some, including Domingos Álvares, the Atlantic represented a series of social deaths and rebirths, a repeating circuit of dislocation and dismemberment, marked by an unceasing desire to reconstitute the self through family, friends, and community. His was a history without an end, quite literally a feedback loop of subjection and social subjectivities. Even for Equiano, despite the tidy conclusion of his narrative—his strong assertions of Episcopalian and abolitionist sentiments, his marriage to an Englishwoman, and so on—other parts of his story remain tragically unfinished. The confines of the traditional historical narrative do not easily reconcile memories of lost kin, like those of his sister. Nor do they easily accommodate the chronic vulnerability and disequilibrium that plagued many Africans as they attempted to realize themselves in new communities, new “nations,” new “countries.”<sup>77</sup> Instead, most histories seek spatial and temporal closure, to render Africans as “resistant” ethnics who bravely fought slavery and colonialism from the barri-

<sup>76</sup> In thinking about the fragmented histories of Atlantic Africans, I build on the provocative work of Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), esp. 202–207.

<sup>77</sup> In addition to the experience of losing his sister, Equiano recounts other filiative losses in his journeys through the Atlantic world. For example, shortly after his original enslavement, he was purchased by an African woman whose family made him “forget” that he was a slave, treating him as though he were “to be adopted.” Reflecting on the moment he was kidnapped and taken away from this family, Equiano captured the cruel promise of social redemption and the horror of instability: “Thus, at the very moment I dreamed of the greatest happiness, I found myself most miserable and it seemed as if fortune wished to give me this taste of joy only to render the reverse more poignant. The change I now experienced was as painful as it was sudden and unexpected. It was a change indeed, from a state of bliss to a scene which is inexpressible by me . . . and wherein such instances of hardship and cruelty continually occurred, as I can never reflect on but with horror.” Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 42–43. See also Equiano’s description of his connection to a “benevolent boy” who treated Equiano as if he “had been his brother.” The two boys were “very happy in frequently seeing each other” for several months in 1761, until Equiano was once again taken to sea. *Ibid.*, 98–100.

caedes, or as “finished” Americans who creatively adapted their African pasts to Christian, democratic, and revolutionary principles.

What is ultimately needed is an ontological narrativity that challenges the unified closures and singular “moral meanings” that are so common to African Atlantic histories. We should heed the earlier calls by Hayden White and Dominick La Capra to question the apparent unity and order in representations of historical “reality.”<sup>78</sup> Indeed, precisely because their temporal “realities” were often so unstable, the histories of Atlantic Africans represent a sort of *sine qua non* of discontinuity that must be acknowledged in narrative representation. It was through these discontinuous narratives that Atlantic Africans attempted to construct new social identifications, incorporating the destabilizing effects of “time, space, and analytical relationality—each of which is excluded from the categorical or essentialist approach to identity.”<sup>79</sup> Thus, the disjointed, fragmented “stories” of Atlantic African lives are key to unlocking the contingent meanings of documentary signifiers such as “Cobû,” “Mina,” and “Igbo.” These signifiers mean very little outside of the contexts that produced them; yet in their convolutions and contradictions across individual lifetimes, they are documentary guideposts that offer historians a glimpse of an alternative narrative of Atlantic history, one that recasts the meaning of “entanglement” to include those people who were literally “trapped” in a cycle of chaotic, episodic histories, perpetually grasping for self-understanding through social belonging. To be sure, Atlantic Africans made important contributions in forging the interconnected, mutually influencing entanglements of the Atlantic world; yet they were also often ensnared by them—through slavery, through racism, through colonial subjectivity.

Africa survived in the Atlantic, but it was an Africa that could be muted, hidden, or even erased, in accordance with given sociocultural realities. Unfortunately for historians and anthropologists, these shifts were often deeply personal, reflecting the dialectic between the individual and his or her environment. Although we will continue to chart identity in collective fashion, a careful examination of individual life histories might better reveal the actual processes by which people retained old identities and added new ones. Moreover, multiple life studies would reveal the divergence of experiences among individuals, even those who claimed common group identification. By charting identity changes over the individual life span, we can focus more clearly on the dynamic processes that resulted in group formation and perhaps abandon the stale debates that focus on “ethnic” and “national” signifiers as ends unto themselves.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, we might render an Atlantic history that is more inclusive of African forms of kinship, memory, and epistemology, moving beyond debates over European “cores,” “peripheries,” and American exceptionalism, to-

<sup>78</sup> On the desire of scholars to impose “moral meaning” on historical narrative, see Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Content and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), 21. For critiques of historical “reality” and the importance of recognizing the discontinuity between events and narrative representation, see White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978), and Dominick La Capra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983).

<sup>79</sup> My suggestion that narrative creates social experience, expectation, and memory draws heavily from Margaret R. Somers, “The Narrative Constitutions of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach,” *Theory and Society* 23, no. 5 (1994): 605–649, quote from 621.

<sup>80</sup> This call for a data bank of biographies echoes Lovejoy’s. See Lovejoy, “The African Diaspora.”

ward a fuller consideration of Africa's "entangled" role in the non-linear history of the Atlantic world.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Here I endorse the position adopted by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra in his December 2007 *AHR* Exchange with Eliga Gould. As in much of his work, Cañizares-Esguerra makes a strong case for integrating Spanish and Latin American ideas into "core" Anglo-American national narratives. In this way, he seeks to interrupt the ahistorical, Anglo-centered exceptionalism that defines contemporary understandings of American history. By challenging the Western form of "self"-driven, chronological narrative, I am suggesting a similar reconfiguration that more readily accommodates African forms of kinship, memory, and worldview in the "entanglements" of the Atlantic. See Cañizares-Esguerra, "The Core and Peripheries of Our National Narratives: A Response from IH-35," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (December 2007): 1423–1431.

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## Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats: The American Transformation of a Concept

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NANCY L. GREEN

THERE HAVE BEEN MANY EXPATRIATES, but few people have legally expatriated. Living abroad is one thing; losing one's citizenship is another. With the notable exception of Henry James in 1915, Americans who chose to live and write abroad rarely gave up or lost their citizenship in the process.<sup>1</sup> The terms "expatriate" and "expatriation" have a long and complex history, but they have been largely absent from recent studies of citizenship. Their use ranges from simple residence abroad ("for a considerable amount of time") to the more definitive legal renunciation or destitution of allegiance, "denationalization," or "decitizenization."<sup>2</sup> Most often, the noun "expatriate" conjures up the interwar "Lost Generation" writers. The lives, essays, and novels of the American expatriate writers in Paris in the 1920s have captured readers' imaginations and framed an important debate on exile and a comparative critique of the New World versus the Old. The term "expatriate" has been extended backward to refer to Edith Wharton in the early twentieth century and beyond World War II to James Baldwin and Richard Wright. Encompassing everyone from the Henrys—James and Miller—to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, from White Bostonians and New Yorkers to Black Harlemites, from those escaping sexual and social convention to those fleeing prejudice and discrimination, expatriate writers, artists, and musicians have become a romanticized icon, haunting Parisian cafés where Hemingway's *Moveable Feast* can still be seen, clutched by earnest would-be Ernests.<sup>3</sup>

After a first go at this topic at an AHA meeting a decade ago, this paper was presented at a Princeton University Davis Center Seminar, and first thanks go to the participants at those meetings for their comments and encouragement. Numerous colleagues have read and commented on form and substance. I would like especially to thank David Abraham, Donna Gabaccia, Gary Gerstle, Alice Kaplan, Leslie Page Moch, Marian L. Smith, and François Weil, along with the anonymous readers for the *American Historical Review* and editor Rob Schneider, all of whose thoughtful and probing comments have helped shape this article.

<sup>1</sup> Alan G. James, "A Memorable Naturalization: How Henry James Became a British Subject and Lost His United States Citizenship," *Henry James Review* 12, no. 1 (1991): 55–68. (Alan James is no relation to Henry James.) In 1915, upset that the United States was not joining the Allied cause, Henry James took a public moral stance by becoming a British subject, and thereby automatically lost his U.S. citizenship under the Expatriation Act of 1907, discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> Ernest Earnest, *Expatriates and Patriots: American Artists, Scholars, and Writers in Europe* (Durham, N.C., 1968), viii; T. Alexander Aleinikoff, "Theories of Loss of Citizenship," *Michigan Law Review* 84 (1985–1986): 1471–1503, 1473; Richard W. Flournoy, Jr., "Naturalization and Expatriation," *Yale Law Journal* 31 (1921–1922): 702–719, 848–868, 866.

<sup>3</sup> Earnest called the period of the 1920s one of "mass expatriation"; *Expatriates and Patriots*, 251. Cf. Harold T. McCarthy, *The Expatriate Perspective: American Novelists and the Idea of America* (Rutherford, Vt., 1974). The literature on James and Wharton and on the Lost Generation is too extensive to do it justice here. Two classic starting points for the interwar period by those who were there are

However, the writers and artists have eclipsed a broader understanding of expatriation both as a legal act and with regard to its meaning for changing notions of citizenship. The concept itself comprises somewhat contradictory elements. Ever since Roman times, the question of belonging has turned on the question of *patria* or *domus*. To which place does one belong and/or owe allegiance: to one's place of origin, or to the place where one hangs one's hat—literally, where one keeps one's seat (*sedes*)?<sup>4</sup> Birthplace and domicile considerations have given way to the distinction between *jus sanguinis*, the right of blood or the acquisition of citizenship through parentage, and *jus soli*, the right of soil or citizenship by virtue of being born in a territory. Most contemporary democracies incorporate some of both in their citizenship laws, which means that one country's citizen by *jus soli* may be another's by *jus sanguinis*. With ever-increasing geographic mobility over the last two centuries, the uneasy relationship between birthplace and domicile and the multiple identities that they may engender have become ever more complex. The word "expatriation," loss of citizenship, is sometimes used as coterminous with "emigration," the physical change of domicile, and emigration and legal expatriation are often linked, but it is possible to move without losing one's citizenship of origin just as it has been possible to lose one's citizenship without ever leaving home. The meaning of expatriation also varies depending on who is initiating the act, the state or the individual, and whether or not it is voluntary. The state banishes; the subject can choose to depart. But the valence given to assignment or consent has changed over time. Whereas exile used to be the first definition of "expatriation," the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* has explicitly decided to list voluntary leave-taking first and expulsion second, a sign of a transformation in the meaning of departure.<sup>5</sup>

The aim here is threefold. First, it is important to incorporate expatriation into our categories for understanding the state's relation to its citizens. The upsurge of citizenship studies since the 1990s has focused mainly on those *within* the state's

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Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York, 1934), and Janet Flanner, *Paris Was Yesterday, 1925–1939* (London, 2003). A spurt of new literature in the 1970s and 1980s includes more focus on women and African Americans, e.g., Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1986); Ernest Dunbar, ed., *The Black Expatriates: A Study of American Negroes in Exile* (New York, 1968); Michel Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris* (Urbana, Ill., 1991); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African-Americans in the City of Light* (Boston, 1996). Stovall has, however, pointed out that the notion of African American expatriates in particular took some getting used to, since the term had been so closely linked to the white writers in Paris. *Ibid.*, xiii, 180–181. James Baldwin insisted that the term "expatriate" was a misnomer: "I am in 'exile' and was; one can never be an expatriate, really. One cannot possibly leave where he came from. You always carry home with you." Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris*, 210.

<sup>4</sup> Yan Thomas, "Origine" et "commune patrie": *Etude de droit public romain* (89 av. J.-C.—212 ap. J.-C.) (Rome, 1996). Thomas argues, contrary to the usual interpretation that sees the Roman recognition of territoriality or domicile as innovative, that a hereditary link to one's place of origin persisted.

<sup>5</sup> Peter H. Schuck and Rogers M. Smith, *Citizenship without Consent: Illegal Aliens in the American Polity* (New Haven, Conn., 1985). Without agreeing with their conclusion (they argued for a more restrictive notion of *jus soli* today, from which Smith himself subsequently backed away), one can read this book for a useful intellectual history of competing tensions between consent and ascription with regard to citizenship. For a critique of Schuck's and Smith's conclusions, see Gerald L. Neuman, "Back to Dred Scott," *San Diego Law Review* 24 (1987): 485, or <http://judiciary.house.gov/legacy/618.htm>; cf. Neuman, *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law* (Princeton, N.J., 1996). See also Dominique Daniel, "Automatic Birthright Citizenship: Who Is an American?" in C. Van Minnen et al., eds., *Federalism, Citizenship, Collective Identities in U.S. History* (Amsterdam, 2000), 245–267. In the 1993 edition of the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, the definition of "expatriate" as a noun reads: "Orig., an exile. Now, a person who lives from choice in a foreign country."



boundaries. Long celebrated as a country of inclusion, the United States has had its history rewritten to include the history of exclusion within its borders. T. H. Marshall's notion of social citizenship, the right to participate in educational, welfare, and other social services, has been abundantly used to look at the domestic limitations of belonging. Slavery, gender, and policies toward Native Americans have been reexamined in a broader understanding of long-embedded exclusions within American social citizenship.<sup>6</sup> Much less attention, however, has been given to those who have left the country and/or lost their legal citizenship.<sup>7</sup> Only the expatriation of American women who married foreign nationals between 1907 and 1931 has received due attention in recent years.<sup>8</sup> Yet even this well-known case of involuntary expatriation needs to be situated within the longer history of the term.

Expatriation has also been largely absent from migration studies. Immigration history, written primarily in the countries of arrival, has most often focused on the problematic policies and experiences of entry, acceptance, rejection, and/or settlement of newcomers. Yet emigration and expatriation provide reverse mirrors of immigration and are connected to it both in theory and in practice.<sup>9</sup> Individuals are emigrants before they reach the other shore and become immigrants; their past and present cannot be so neatly severed. For states, one country's emigrant is another's immigrant, embedding the process in a web of international relations. For historians, immigration studies need to integrate emigration and expatriation. We can reverse the usual immigration and citizenship questions by reflecting on how the state defines itself not only through those whom it incorporates (more or less well) within its boundaries but also with regard to those who cross beyond.

<sup>6</sup> T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1950), 1–85. See, for example, James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978); Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote* (New York, 2000); Neuman, *Strangers to the Constitution*; Judith Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven, Conn., 1997); Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006). For an optimistic view of the American egalitarian ideal, see, e.g., Kenneth L. Karst, *Belonging to America: Equal Citizenship and the Constitution* (New Haven, Conn., 1989).

<sup>7</sup> Yet see, notably, Smith, *Civic Ideals*; and Linda K. Kerber, "The Stateless as the Citizen's Other: A View from the United States," Presidential Address, *American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (February 2007): 1–34.

<sup>8</sup> Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); Nancy F. Cott, "Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830–1934," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 5 (December 1988): 1440–1474; Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, 2000); Linda K. Kerber, "The Meanings of Citizenship," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 3 (1997): 833–854; Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> "Expatriation and repatriation represent nothing new in the history of this country; it is new only to those who are unfamiliar with its history." Theodore Saloutos, "Expatriates and Repatriates: A Neglected Chapter in United States History" (unpublished paper, Rock Island, Ill., 1972), 18. Although political economists have studied the impact of the "brain drain" on the economies of origin, a more general history of exit and the relationship of countries to their citizens who leave is just beginning to be studied. See Nancy L. Green, "The Politics of Exit: Reversing the Immigration Paradigm," *Journal of Modern History* 77, no. 2 (2005): 263–289; Nancy L. Green and François Weil, eds., *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation* (Urbana, Ill., 2007); Eileen Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844–1942* (New York, 2001), 52–59; Robert C. Smith, "Diasporic Memberships in Historical Perspective: Comparative Insights from the Mexican, Italian and Polish Cases," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 724–759; "Symposium: A Tribute to the Work of Kim Barry—The Construction of Citizenship in an Emigration Context," *New York University Law Review* 81, no. 1 (2006).



Second, the concept of expatriation must be understood as both a legal and a social construct. Legal debates in the United States over citizenship rights and obligations have been grounded in the political and the social. The shifting image of the presumed expatriate has helped frame the legal issues tackled at each juncture. By laying the basis for an interactive history of the figure of the leave-taker and the state's legislating of citizenship loss, we can see how the "imagined expatriate" has played an important part in constructing the ways in which citizenship has been conceived.

Third, this socio-legal history of the last two centuries can be seen as comprising four different periods, during which the meaning of expatriation has shifted from an inclusive view to an exclusionary notion to today's new embracing of citizens abroad. In the first two periods, both of which were inclusive in nature, an expatriate was imagined as someone coming to America. During the revolutionary and early national period, expatriation was tied to the very construction of a new country. Separation from Britain depended upon defining the right of expatriation from Britain to the United States, and the early-nineteenth-century American debates were conceptualized with British seamen or landless Englishmen in mind. From the mid-nineteenth century on, with mass immigration from northern Europe, a second, equally inclusive, period expanded on the first. Legal thinking about expatriation could now be seen as a corollary to immigration policy, reassuring newcomers that their naturalization in the United States was secure against competing claims from the countries of their birth. By the early twentieth century, however, a third period, marked by the Expatriation Act of 1907, reflected a new, more worrisome figure. The expatriate was now defined as someone leaving America, whether for love (American women marrying foreign men), for money (naturalized businessmen staying away too long), or just to write, although only the first two would be legally excluded from citizenship. The list of potential acts that could incur citizenship loss was codified and lengthened. Yet, at the same time, globalization was already leading more and more Americans abroad, with a major leap in departures after World War II. A fourth period, from the 1960s on, has thus seen yet one more shift in the meaning of expatriation, leading to a more inclusive consideration of citizens abroad. One could argue that the business expat has had a role in whittling down the list of legal expatriating acts, as voting abroad and even dual citizenship have become increasingly accepted. This discussion about expatriation has often used different terms, from "expatriation" to "expatriates" to "expats," to imagine, condone, condemn, and again accept those otherwise suspected of dual loyalties. From welcoming "expatriated" foreigners in the nineteenth century, to becoming suspicious of those Americans who waded overseas throughout much of the twentieth century, to easing laws on citizenship loss today, two centuries of American comings and goings have shifted the representation of expatriation from welcomed newcomer to traitor to emissary.

EXPATRIATION WAS INITIALLY a form of nation-building. For the United States to justify its break from Britain, it had, among other things, to legitimate the notion of leaving one's country of birth. Expatriation was thus seen as a form of inclusion in

America, with former British subjects in mind. Like citizenship itself, expatriation was both a theoretical/rhetorical and a practical/legal issue for the early state. The Declaration of Independence, which complained that King George III had impeded the peopling of the colonies ("He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither"), was a declaration of the right of emigration. In the ensuing decades, in order to consolidate American independence and citizenship, expatriation from Britain had to be deemed a legal, indeed natural, right for both the state and the individual. The United States had to counter both politically and philosophically the competing British claim that birth-right or perpetual allegiance bound those born under the crown everlastingly to it. This essentially feudal notion, most forcefully expounded by the famous jurist Sir Edward Coke in 1608, regarded expatriation as a moral travesty and a legal impossibility. It would take several decades for the new nation to impose its view that expatriation was in turn a natural right. The right of exit was the necessary corollary to a right of entry, and a Lockean notion of free will underwrote the definition of the new American citizen.

The founding fathers and early jurists did not fully agree on these matters, however, as political scientist I-mien Tsiang well showed in *The Question of Expatriation in America Prior to 1907* (1942), one of the most complete treatments of the first century of expatriation law. Alexander Hamilton, for example, still stressed the primacy of an organic, "natural" attachment to the state. When legislation was proposed in New York in 1784 to cancel the citizenship of those who had taken the British side during the Revolution, Hamilton objected: "The idea, indeed, of citizens transforming themselves into aliens, by taking part against the State to which they belong, is altogether of new invention, unknown and inadmissible in law, and contrary to the nature of the social compact."<sup>10</sup> In this view, the right of government superseded that of the individual (and the federal government that of the individual states). Thomas Jefferson, however, tended to emphasize a consensual notion of citizenship choice, defending expatriation as a natural individual right in order to justify American independence and the right of British citizens to become Americans.<sup>11</sup>

The worry about American citizens voluntarily giving up their citizenship was raised in several early Supreme Court cases. In *Talbot v. Jansen* (1795), the question was whether the native Virginian William Talbot had committed treason when he illegally outfitted a French privateer ship. When arrested, he claimed that since he had become a French citizen in Guadeloupe, he could not be tried for treason in the United States. Treason is a matter of citizenship; only a citizen can be a traitor.<sup>12</sup> Someone who had forsworn or lost his or her birthright citizenship could be an enemy, perhaps, but not a traitor. Talbot was found guilty as charged. However, while

<sup>10</sup> Cited in I-mien Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation in America Prior to 1907* (Baltimore, 1942), 28.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., chap. 2. On Jefferson, see also Frederick G. Whelan, "Citizenship and the Right to Leave," *American Political Science Review* 75, no. 3 (1981): 636–653; Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 155–159.

<sup>12</sup> Treason is also a matter of dates, as Talleyrand once said: "Sire, c'est là [ceux qui ont trahi la cause de l'Europe] une question de date." Talleyrand, *Mémoires 1754–1815*, ed. Paul-Louis and Jean-Paul Couchoud (1957; repr., Paris, 1982), 723. To be faithful to Napoleon, for example, was no longer a good idea after Waterloo.

arguing that expatriation was a qualified right that should be constrained by patriotism and the public good, Justice James Iredell left one of the more memorable expressions of the principle of expatriation, still quoted today:

That a man ought not to be a slave; that he should not be confined against his will to a particular spot because he happened to draw his first breath upon it; that he should not be compelled to continue in a society to which he is accidentally attached, when he can better his situation elsewhere, much less when he must starve in one country, and may live comfortably in another, are positions which I hold as strongly as any man, and they are such as most nations in the world appear clearly to recognize.<sup>13</sup>

Iredell thus turned the wily pirate into an oft-cited legal precedent. Ironically, a native American trying to abandon the U.S. became a touchstone for considering the right of others to abandon their birthplace to come to America.

By the early nineteenth century, the focus was less on the Talbots who might jump the American ship than on British seamen and others who opted for the newly created American citizenship. The War of 1812 unleashed a period of heated debate in the United States over the question of expatriation, considered to be one of the three great international issues of the time, along with the neutral flag and blockades. The war broke out, among other things, over competing definitions of expatriation and differing conceptions of citizenship. With a full panoply of family metaphors linked to the notion of perpetual allegiance and insistence that one could not alienate oneself from one's mother country, Britain continued to object to the upstart new nation's redefinition of those whom it still considered to be its subjects.<sup>14</sup> Britain thus refused to recognize American naturalization and forcefully conscripted British-turned-American seamen as its own. This led American jurists and publicists of the period to condemn vigorously the notion of perpetual allegiance. Nonetheless, a spirited pamphlet debate broke out, which lasted throughout the three-year war, showing that the matter was not just a British-American dispute but an internal American discussion as well. Should the U.S. defend this revolutionary concept of expatriation to the point of war over who belonged to whom? Some argued that expatriation was a natural right to be defended at all costs. Others, while agreeing with the principle of expatriation, did not think it was worth fighting an extended war over.

A "Gentleman of the City of New York," as one polemicist signed his pamphlet in 1813, argued passionately that it should be "no crime for a man to leave that country, where, by chance, he commenced his existence."<sup>15</sup> He strenuously made the case that emigration devolved from a (competing) natural right, that of departure,

<sup>13</sup> *Talbot v. Jansen*, 3 U.S. 3 Dall. 133 (1795) at 162. The judges spoke in terms of both allegiance and citizenship. At the same time, Iredell stressed that a citizen cannot dissolve his or her duties to the state unilaterally. The Constitution did not specify that one must be a citizen to be a traitor; this silence created the "roots of ambiguity" that Rogers Smith has examined in *Civic Ideals*, chap. 5.

<sup>14</sup> In 1813 the Prince Regent reiterated his belief in the inalienable nature of allegiance: "Allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey: it began with their birth and can only terminate with their existence." Quoted in David Feldman and M. Page Baldwin, "Emigration and the British State, c. 1815–1925," in Green and Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave*, 144. See also Aristide R. Zolberg, "The Exit Revolution," *ibid.*, 33–60. On the American refutation of perpetual alliance, see, e.g., Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship*, 44–61, 173–209; and Smith, *Civic Ideals*, esp. 79–80, 102–103.

<sup>15</sup> A Gentleman of the City of New York [S. Johnson], *An Inquiry into the Natural Rights of Man as*

and that all laws to prevent it were unjust and highly tyrannical. In 1814, the anonymous author of another brochure, *A Treatise on Expatriation*, similarly emphasized that the young nation should welcome all those who came from abroad, a matter not just of liberty but of the pursuit of happiness. While the author conceded that the term itself was of Roman extraction, he argued that the contemporary definition was of American origin, as used in a Virginia statute of 1792. He linked expatriation to domicile (“without residence there can be no citizenship”), and although he left aside the question as to whether the individual act alone was sufficient and did not need the original country’s consent, his purpose was to prove that British law itself consented to the expatriation of its subjects. The author was hardly subtle in his critique of perpetual allegiance and its defenders: “Reason, justice, humanity, unite to stamp folly, tyranny, and wickedness like this, with the indelible marks of their reprobation!” Praising his own logic at the expense of everyone else’s, he argued that the concept of perpetual allegiance was not only “bad in theory, it is odious and detestable in practice. It has served to embroil two nations.”<sup>16</sup>

“A Massachusetts Lawyer,” as John Lowell (Jr.) signed his anonymous treatise, responded by unmasking the author of *A Treatise on Expatriation* as a warmonger. Lowell, a Federalist lawyer, son of “The Old Judge” John Lowell but himself known as the “Boston Rebel,” was against the war, which led him to take a somewhat different tack. He was in favor of expatriation on principle but against going to war over it. He heatedly pointed out that the “obscure individual” from Virginia was none other than George Hay, Attorney of the U.S. for the District of Virginia, who in effect was “Mr. Madison’s Advocate” and thus was in favor of going to war over the matter. Lowell mocked this “presidential pamphleteer” and castigated him for the temerity of using the Old Testament example of Israelites emigrating from Egypt to justify British traitors (i.e., newly minted Americans) in taking up arms against their former sovereign. Lowell suspected that Hay’s overly vigorous critique of perpetual allegiance was aimed at preparing people for a long conflict.<sup>17</sup>

The treatises, while attempting to justify or criticize the War of 1812, argued forcefully on the basis of competing principles, but in so doing, they also sketched the image of the expatriate, even if the authors disagreed in their characterization of those doing the expatriating. Hay had explicitly stated that he could not imagine a wealthy emigrant or one who would leave land and/or children behind: “The people who compose the great mass of emigration have no land . . . The rich, the powerful, the landholder, are content to remain at home.” However, Lowell regarded Hay’s

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*Regards the Exercise of Expatriation, Dedicated to All the Adopted Citizens of the United States* (New York, 1813), 5.

<sup>16</sup> [George Hay], *A Treatise on Expatriation* (Washington, D.C., 1814), 70, 2–3, 6, 45, 32, 20–21, 64, 87; cf. 60. The Virginia statute (drafted by Jefferson) was the first to be passed, and it was quoted in *Talbot v. Jansen*. Pennsylvania was the first state to inscribe the right of emigration in its constitution: “That all men have a natural, inherent right to emigrate from one State to another that will receive them, or to form a new State in vacant countries, or in such countries as they can purchase, whenever they think that thereby they may promote their own happiness.” Vermont, Kentucky, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri followed suit. Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation*, 41 n. 55; Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 156.

<sup>17</sup> A Massachusetts Lawyer [John Lowell], *Review of a Treatise on Expatriation by George Hay, Esq.* (Boston, 1814), 16–17; cf. 5. For Hay’s self-description as an “obscure individual,” see *A Treatise on Expatriation*, 80.

description of essentially poor and landless British emigrants/expatriates who were obliged to seek sustenance abroad as “ludicrously absurd.” Lowell countered that he personally knew at least three English freeholders who had come to the United States, been naturalized there, and yet returned to Britain.<sup>18</sup> The wealthy transnational who crisscrossed the seas was already a knowable figure for Lowell.

As these early debates show, the American expatriation *imaginaire* was constructed in three ways. First, in contrast to the British refusal of expatriation based on fear of egress, the American perspective in the early part of the nineteenth century was constructed primarily to defend the ingress of British subjects who were becoming Americans. Second, the philosophical justification for this change of status was based on the idea that individual consent to citizenship was essential. Third, the legal debates were also construed with actual expatriates in mind. Subsequent imaginings of *who* was doing the leave-taking would have an important impact on transformations in the social and legal notion of expatriation over the next two centuries.

BY THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, expatriation had become immigration. The Expatriation Act of 1868, declaring “the right of expatriation to be a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” was another way of welcoming the new “expatriates” of the mass migration—Germans, Irish, Scandinavians—to the demographically growing nation. The image of expatriation had changed, from British seamen to North European immigrants in general. This second period of American thought on the subject of expatriation reaffirmed the right of ingress in a double context, domestic and international. On the domestic front, the 1868 act was passed one day before the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, which reinforced birthright in order to overturn the *Dred Scott* decision and confirm African Americans’ right to citizenship. For Peter Schuck and Rogers Smith, the Expatriation Act and the Fourteenth Amendment represented a “marriage of convenience.”<sup>19</sup> Together they allowed ascriptive *jus soli* citizenship to ensure the rights of African Americans born on American soil while at the same time permitting European immigrants to extricate themselves from the prescriptive citizenship of their birth lands. It was a necessary contradiction, one that shows how nation-building can be linked to sociological understandings of the citizens at stake.

Expatriation was also a domestic demographic issue. Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth had invoked this matter in 1799 when he argued in his controversial opinion against expatriation that the lightly populated country needed to keep its inhabitants, not lose them: “In countries so crowded with inhabitants that the means of subsistence are difficult to be obtained, it is reason and policy to permit emigration. But our policy is different; for our country is but sparsely settled, and we have no inhabitants to spare.”<sup>20</sup> Concern for the peopling of America ultimately worked to the advantage of ideas in favor of expatriation as the mass migrations that began in the

<sup>18</sup> Hay, *A Treatise on Expatriation*, 9, 10–12; Lowell, *Review of a Treatise*, 6–7, 9.

<sup>19</sup> Schuck and Smith, *Citizenship without Consent*, 87.

<sup>20</sup> *U.S. v. Isaac William*, cited in Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation*, 33. Ellsworth was castigated by the anti-Federalists as anti-Republican and pro-monarchical for his stand on perpetual allegiance.



middle of the nineteenth century brought ever more inhabitants to the land. The passage of the Expatriation Act also came two years after a *cause célèbre* in which the U.S. government had protested energetically against the arrest in Ireland in 1866 of two Irish-born naturalized American citizens who had returned to their birth country during the Fenian agitation.<sup>21</sup> The 1868 law was a way of reassuring European newcomers that expatriation to the United States and acquisition of American citizenship were secure against demands by their native states.

The Expatriation Act of 1868 was also a sign of new international times. As the mass European migrations moved millions of people away from their places of birth, the notion of perpetual allegiance was in decline throughout Europe by the 1870s, leading to an “entire change of doctrine” and a flurry of international treaties redefining who belonged to whom.<sup>22</sup> Other countries were declaring emigration to be a natural right, albeit often with strings still attached, and even Great Britain, one of the most articulate proponents of perpetual allegiance, revised its Nationality Law in 1870 to allow expatriation. Naturalization treaties were signed by the United States with Belgium, Norway and Sweden, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Mexico, and Ecuador, essentially an acknowledgment that one country’s expatriate was another’s citizen, although momentum slowed as a number of European countries introduced obligatory military service that had to be undertaken before legal emigration could occur. Refuting other states’ claims to perpetual allegiance and emphasizing individual consent, the American courts and the 1868 law confirmed the proposition that new immigrants, like the revolutionaries before them, had the right to choose to change the legal ties that bind. As one legal scholar commented, the law formulated “a practical desire to secure international recognition for the view that naturalization in the United States effects complete expatriation from a former allegiance.” “Dictated by expediency, though announced in terms of principle,” the Expatriation Act still emphasized ingress and inclusion, defending those who wanted to become American citizens.<sup>23</sup>

BY THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, however, the concept of expatriation had changed radically, from a perspective of ingress to one of egress. Ellsworth’s night-

<sup>21</sup> Edwin M. Borchard, *The Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad; or, The Law of International Claims* (New York, 1915), 675–676; Feldman and Baldwin, “Emigration and the British State,” 145. See Lucy Salyer’s forthcoming work on Fenians and the expatriation crisis of the 1860s, <http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/faculty-workshops/abstracts.html> (accessed February 26, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> “Opinions of the Heads of the Executive Departments, and Other Papers, Relating to Expatriation, Naturalization, and Change of Allegiance,” in United States, Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1873, pt. 2: 1188–1231, 1188; see also Edwin M. Borchard, “The Citizenship of Native-Born American Women Who Married Foreigners before March 2, 1907, and Acquired a Foreign Domicile,” *American Journal of International Law* 29, no. 3 (1935): 396–422, 399, on the figure of the expatriate in these treaties: “it was primarily to citizens of foreign countries emigrating to the United States, and not to American citizens emigrating to foreign countries, that the treaties were deemed to have their practical application.” On expatriation law as linked to immigration flows, see also John Bassett Moore, “The Doctrine of Expatriation,” *Harper’s Magazine* 110, no. 656 (1905): 225–236; Zolberg, “The Exit Revolution”; and Flournoy, “Naturalization and Expatriation.”

<sup>23</sup> Both quotes come from Edwin M. Borchard, “Decadence of the American Doctrine of Voluntary Expatriation,” *American Journal of International Law* 25, no. 2 (1931): 312–316, 313. More generally, on other countries’ shifts on this issue, see Green and Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave*.



mare was coming true: Americans were now leaving as well as coming. In this third period, expatriation became conceptualized less as a welcoming inclusion of newcomers than as a discussion about excluding certain categories of American citizens. Whereas the Expatriation Act of 1868 had reaffirmed the right of aliens to become Americans, a new law, the Expatriation Act of 1907, sought to define the contours of Americans who became aliens.<sup>24</sup> On the one hand, the country no longer felt demographically challenged. Indeed, anti-immigration forces had gained the momentum that would ultimately culminate in the quota laws of 1921 and 1924. Accepting other countries' expatriates was no longer a priority. Naturalizations themselves were now sometimes suspect in the face of increasing fraud and corruption; Presidents Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, and Theodore Roosevelt all made appeals to Congress to provide stricter controls on naturalization to rout out spurious citizenship, but their pleas were ignored.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, a century of American globalization had begun, and American expansion overseas was leading more and more citizens abroad. Yet the image of the departed citizen was complex, and those leaving were a mixed bunch.

By clearly delineating the acts that could lead to loss of citizenship, the Expatriation Act of 1907 in effect marked the shift from inclusion to exclusion. Whereas the 1868 law had made explicit an abstract principle, it had not actually defined what constituted expatriation, and ever since *Talbot* there had been a sense of the need to codify the matter. This explains why for Tsiang, the 1907 law was the satisfying resolution of "the long circuit of doubts" resulting from the founding fathers' reluctance to take a definitive stand on born or acquired allegiance. But Tsiang, focusing on a legal teleology, did not see the exclusionary aspects of the law. The three principal acts that incurred citizenship loss were naturalization or an oath of allegiance pledged to a foreign state, extended residence abroad (of naturalized American citizens), and marriage of women to foreign citizens. Naturalized American citizens were still protected under the law no matter where they roamed, but they were now at risk of losing their new citizenship if they resided for two years in their country of origin or five years in any other foreign state. The presumption of loss of American citizenship due to extended residence abroad could be overcome only if satisfactory evidence was provided that there had been no intent to relinquish American citizenship. The image of the transnational traveler picking up citizenships at will before going "home" or elsewhere was already beginning to develop, and it was not a particularly positive picture. There was talk of "serious abuse" on the part of naturalized citizens who took up American citizenship only to leave again.<sup>26</sup> Dual citizenship was inconceivable.

The image of the American abroad was complex. On the one hand, in a notable

<sup>24</sup> In relation to this point, see John P. Roche's virulent critique of ahistorical legal interpretations. Roche, "The Expatriation Decisions: A Study in Constitutional Improvisation and the Uses of History," *American Political Science Review* 58, no. 1 (1964): 72–80.

<sup>25</sup> Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation*, 100. Flournoy was particularly suspicious of fraud and questioned the good faith of immigrants, suspecting them of taking on U.S. citizenship solely to avoid military service in their country of origin; "Naturalization and Expatriation," 848–849.

<sup>26</sup> Elihu Root, "The Basis of Protection to Citizens Residing Abroad," *American Journal of International Law* 4 (1910): 517–528. His examples were Turkey, Morocco, and Mexico. On the issue of return in general, see Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993).

address on “The Basis of Protection to Citizens Residing Abroad” in 1910, former secretary of state Elihu Root hailed the brave new world of American businessmen forging into new markets. Emphasizing the new importance of trade and commerce, he spoke of the declining tariffs and the increasing facility of transportation and communication that had “set in motion vast armies of travelers who are making their way into the most remote corners of foreign countries to a degree never before known.” In an early paean to globalization, Root spoke eloquently of the enormous shifting of population and the increased mobility of everything from (European) peasants to money to (American) businessmen. The generalized abandonment of the doctrine of inalienable allegiance, “so inconsistent with the natural course of development of the new world,” had created “a new class of citizens traveling or residing abroad.” This meant new concerns for states, as Edwin M. Borchard’s *The Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad*, published in 1915, also attested. “The drawing together of the world by increased facilities of travel and communication” justified the new attention to the matter.<sup>27</sup> Root and Borchard emphasized that citizenship was not just a domestic matter. It was enmeshed in international relations in regard to not only the government’s responsibility for its citizens abroad but also the ways in which immigration and emigration necessarily implied treaties to respect one another’s nationals.

Yet other figures raised questions about the loyalties of Americans who dabbled with the foreign: naturalized citizens going home and American women married to foreigners. By setting clearer parameters regarding those who had overstepped the boundaries of belonging, the 1907 law more explicitly defined those who could be excluded. Over the next half-century, a widening circle of acts that could result in the loss of citizenship were confirmed, leading to an increase in involuntary expatriation. The 1940 Nationality Act expanded the criteria for nationality loss by adding service in the armed forces of or employment by a foreign state, voting, desertion, or treason.<sup>28</sup> The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (known as the McCarran-Walter Act) consolidated all previous nationality laws, and all of the expatriating criteria were maintained. Expatriation thus came to be reconceptualized over the first half of the twentieth century under a cloud of doubt. In contrast to one discourse that expressed admiration for American entrepreneurs abroad, a competing negative vision considered leave-takers with misgiving. More than one government immigration expert questioned both a too-inclusive right of naturalization and the extension of protection to Americans abroad.<sup>29</sup> The image of expatriation had shifted from a friendly figure being welcomed to a sparsely populated continent, to a series of sus-

<sup>27</sup> Root, “The Basis of Protection,” 517, 518; Borchard, *Diplomatic Protection*, v. Root, no longer secretary of state, was president of the American Society of International Law, to which this paper was presented.

<sup>28</sup> Sec. 401. For the full text, see the useful website initiated by Sarah Starkweather, <http://library.uwb.edu/guides/USImmigration/USImmigrationlegislation.html> (accessed February 26, 2009). Treason was explicitly included for the first time, turning Talbot’s reasoning on its head. Whereas he had tried to argue that expatriation would invalidate an accusation of treason, in 1940 treason became cause for expatriation.

<sup>29</sup> Flournoy, “Naturalization and Expatriation,” 702–719, 848–868; Alan G. James, “Expatriation in the United States: Precept and Practice Today and Yesterday,” *San Diego Law Review* 27 (1990): 853–905, 855, 875.

picious characters ranging from increasingly unwanted immigrants and suspect naturalized citizens to two very different groups: women and writers.

EXPATRIATION WAS EXPLICITLY GENDERED. Among the most egregious historical cases of involuntary expatriation are those of American women who married alien men between the Expatriation Act of 1907 and the Married Women's Independent Citizenship Act ("Cable Act") of 1922, which putatively rectified the injustice, although women who married aliens who themselves were ineligible for citizenship, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, were still expatriated until 1931. Section 2 of the Expatriation Act of 1907 stipulated that "any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign state in conformity with its laws, or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign state."<sup>30</sup> The "he" was explicit because the subsequent section dealt specifically with women, only to understand their expatriation as being effected through marriage. Section 3 specified that any American woman who married a foreigner would take the nationality of her husband. A circular instruction on April 19, 1907, clarified the evidence that would be considered as overturning the presumption of loss for naturalized citizens due to extended residence abroad, once again using a telling "he":

(a) That his residence abroad is solely as a representative of American trade and commerce, and that he intends eventually to return to the United States permanently to reside; or

(b) That his residence abroad is in good faith for reasons of health or for education.<sup>31</sup>

Business, health, education—the wealthy American naturalized male was protected from citizenship loss as long as he could prove a worthy reason for absenting himself.<sup>32</sup> The American female, however, "followed" her husband's nationality whether she left the United States or continued to reside there. In the latter case, expatriation could occur without emigration.

As a number of scholars have shown, the American citizen had been conceptualized as a white male, who furthermore had the power, through marriage, to transform a foreign woman into an American citizen.<sup>33</sup> According to the Nationality Law of 1855, American citizenship was automatically granted to foreign women who married American men. There was no mention of the opposite category of mixed marriages, American women married to foreign men. This resulted in an anomalous situation that the 1907 law supposedly corrected, but it did so to the disadvantage

<sup>30</sup> Importantly, however, military service abroad was not (yet) considered an expatriating act at this juncture, undoubtedly owing to historical memory of the early British-turned-American sailors.

<sup>31</sup> Cited in Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation*, 106. An 1873 opinion had included amusement in the list of legitimate reasons for an American citizen to reside abroad for an indefinite period: "for purposes of health, of education, of amusement, or business." *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>32</sup> This did not always work. See Memorandum on the Citizenship of Mr. Emile Supper, July 27, 1915, from the American Consulate in Lyon to the Secretary of State, Washington, 351.11/890, General Records of the Department of State, Decimal Files, Record Group 59, 1910–1929, National Archives at College Park, Md. [hereafter RG 59, 1910–1929]. Files on Supper continue in 351.11/1105 and 351.11/1227. Having lived in France for twenty years, the German-born, U.S.-naturalized Supper claimed that he did not know of the Expatriation Act of 1907.

<sup>33</sup> Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*; Kerber, "The Meanings of Citizenship"; Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies*; Cott, "Marriage and Women's Citizenship"; Cott, *Public Vows*.

of all married women, by making them dependent on their husbands' status for their citizenship. Marriage, a voluntary act, was deemed to result in expatriation, voluntary or not. As one legal commentator later put it, dramatically, the Expatriation Act of 1907, "which indulged the fiction that by marrying an alien the lady consents to a result 'tantamount to expatriation,' caused the feminist revolution, whose echoes still reverberate at home and abroad."<sup>34</sup>

The expatriation of American-born women was not just a consequence of trying to equilibrate a previous law. It can also be linked to the bad press that many such marriages had received. By the turn of the twentieth century, both men and women who married "out" came under nativist scrutiny.<sup>35</sup> Foreign men who married American women were considered questionable, if not conniving, in their efforts to obtain American citizenship and usurp the vote; the 1907 law was also known as "the Gigolo Act." At the same time, rich American women "who 'play[ed] at being' aristocrats by marrying (allegedly) titled foreigners instead of 'men of their own race'" came in for their share of castigation.<sup>36</sup> There seemed to be an epidemic of marriages between American heiresses and European nobility at the turn of the century. In 1895, two high-profile matches, those of Anna Gould and Count Boniface de Castellane and Consuelo Vanderbilt and the Duke of Marlborough, elicited envy and scorn, translated into images of pots of American gold leaving the country. A 1911 congressional debate criticized rich female legatees who were "suffering from chronic titleitis."<sup>37</sup> Beyond the financial arrangements, "snubbing that national icon, the citizen man, was a serious transgression."<sup>38</sup> Newspaper articles condemning the fake duchesses were legion; such slavish chasing after European titles was considered to be a particularly loathsome renunciation of American democratic ideals. "Countess Spaghettis" were mocked, and Franco-American marriages were criticized as "pathetic comedies of credulous inexperience."<sup>39</sup>

Foreign women were also targeted in the images of unnatural alliances. Even the women's groups fighting the 1907 law (united at least over this issue in the interwar

<sup>34</sup> Borchard, "The Citizenship of Native-Born American Women," 403; Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation*, 110, 94. Borchard chided Tsiang for ignoring the issue of expatriated American women. Edwin M. Borchard, "The Question of Expatriation in America Prior to 1907," *American Journal of International Law* 37, no. 3 (1943): 540–542. See also Smith, *Civic Ideals*, for whom the 1907 law is another example of the "multiple traditions" of the American citizenship debate and the constant tension between exclusionary ascriptive inequality (of women, African Americans, and Native Americans) and more liberal Lockean consent. Cf. Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*, 42, 19; and Marian L. Smith, "Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married . . . : Women and Naturalization, ca. 1802–1940," *Prologue Magazine* 30, no. 2 (1998), <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/summer/women-and-naturalization-1.html> and <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/summer/women-and-naturalization-2.html> (accessed May 26, 2008).

<sup>35</sup> There were in fact four different types of mixed-marriage situations, depending on gender and domicile: native-born women married to foreign-born men living in the United States (approximately 8.9 percent, according to birth statistics of white children born in 1920), the more numerous foreign-born women married to American men also living in the United States (about 14 percent; Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*, 4 n. 3), and both categories living abroad.

<sup>36</sup> Cited in Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 457.

<sup>37</sup> Maureen F. Montgomery, "Gilded Prostitution": *Status, Money, and Transatlantic Marriages, 1870–1914* (New York, 1989), 166; Amanda Mackenzie Stuart, *Consuelo and Alva Vanderbilt: The Story of a Daughter and Mother in the Gilded Age* (New York, 2005); Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan, *The Glitter and the Gold* (New York, 1952).

<sup>38</sup> Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*, 74, 63.

<sup>39</sup> Anna Bowman Dodd, "The Expatriates: The American Colony in Paris," *The Bookman* 25 (May 1907): 247–266, 262. Cf. Montgomery, "Gilded Prostitution."

years) were not above making invidious comparisons between foreign women who easily gained American citizenship and proper American women who had now lost theirs. If all women were thus deemed equally dependent under the 1907 law, foreign women and native-born women could be represented differently, even by feminists. The gendered inequity and iniquity of the expatriation law was overturned by the Cable Act of 1922, albeit to the dismay of some: "another blow is struck at the unity of the family."<sup>40</sup> Foreign women who married American men no longer automatically gained U.S. citizenship upon marriage—after all, some of them had become citizens without learning English, commented the horrified naysayers—but American women who married foreign men no longer automatically lost their American citizenship. American women who married Asians, however, were still liable to expatriation until 1931, and those who had lost their citizenship had to apply for naturalization to recover it. Fully equal nationality rights for American-born women were not reestablished until the 1940s.<sup>41</sup>

AND WHAT ABOUT THE "EXPATRIATE" PER SE? At the turn of the twentieth century, "expatriate" came into usage as a worrisome noun, denoting a suspect citizen. While American women were losing their citizenship involuntarily, an entirely different image was emerging. The expatriate writer or artist loomed as another problematic category of citizen, although one at little risk of actual involuntary citizenship loss. While American women could be expatriated without emigration, the 1920s writers were expatriates without expatriation. These best-known expatriates are thus testimony to another shift in the understanding of expatriation. Expatriation as a legal category of citizenship loss and the expatriate as simply a citizen abroad increasingly diverged in the early twentieth century. Tellingly, Elihu Root never used the term "expatriate" in his 1910 speech about "vast armies" of civilians abroad, since the legal meaning of expatriation, a loss of citizenship, is in fact the opposite of the legal meaning of "citizens traveling or residing abroad," the language he used. By the 1920s, the concept of expatriation had shifted from a category of citizenship to one of residence.

The new term "expatriate," which the writers and artists ultimately adopted, had a negative undertone that questioned the relationship of citizens abroad to the nation. True, the American novelists, painters, poets, and musicians in interwar Paris who had opted for creativity on foreign soil had not relinquished or lost their citizenship, let alone their attachment to the United States. Indeed, who was more American than Gertrude Stein, who proclaimed the "American Century" a good decade before Henry Luce?<sup>42</sup> But their choice to live abroad and their explicit writings on exile raised important questions about the relationship of the citizen to home.

<sup>40</sup> Flournoy, "Naturalization and Expatriation," 867.

<sup>41</sup> On the limitations of the Cable Act, see especially Cott, "Marriage and Women's Citizenship," 1464–1471; and Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*, chap. 5. Women who had lost their citizenship under the 1907 law had to apply for naturalization to be fully reinstated, a measure that was not completely replaced by a simple application and oath of allegiance until 1940. Borchard, "The Citizenship of Native-Born American Women," 404–406. For the texts of the laws, see "American Citizenship Rights of Women," <http://www.loc.gov/law/find/hearings/pdf/0014160126A.pdf> (accessed May 24, 2008).

<sup>42</sup> "America created the twentieth century." Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*



Their cultural visibility and critical success, however appealing to like-minded intellectuals, were bound up with worries about the nature of the nation—all the more so insofar as many of them, including Stein, explicitly expressed their dismay with the standardization and mediocrity of American modernity. The 1920s expatriates were often viewed disapprovingly at the time, seen as rootless, hedonistic, extravagant, hard-drinking, and/or homosexual. In his 1968 book *Expatriates and Patriots*, Ernest Earnest made the distinction between the 1920s “Lost Generation” and those who had come before them, clearly preferring the more refined Whartons and Jameses, the old Brahmins and other upper-middle-class East Coasters who had crossed the Atlantic eastward between the Civil War and World War I.<sup>43</sup> Yet, while Hemingway and others embraced the life of the exile and its spur to creativity, however chilly the cold-water flats, even they acknowledged the ambiguity of the status. While justifying his stay abroad, yet insisting that he was very American although decidedly “against the emergence of articulate mediocrity,” Harold Stearns wrote in his “Apologia of an Expatriate”: “No one knows better than I the bitterness of being an expatriate or hates it more than I do.”<sup>44</sup>

Furthermore, not all expatriates in Paris were café-dwelling Americans, and the category was more sociologically complex than is usually acknowledged. The American business community and the idle rich abroad—who were much more numerous than the writers and artists—also came in for their share of criticism. Whether or not the expatriate was a patriot was open to interpretation. The earliest American use of “expatriate” as a noun seems to have been in Lilian Bell’s novel *The Expatriates*, published in 1900. In it, Bell harshly mocked rich Americans in Paris who, to their financial and even physical peril, succumbed to the sirens of impoverished and scheming titled French men and women. “Where do you live now?” one of the characters in the novel asks another American. “In Paris,” he replies. “‘Expatriates—both of you!’ she said, scornfully, turning her glasses on them.” “Why did this man . . . deliberately live away from her dear country and tacitly repudiate the flag?”<sup>45</sup> Another American woman dies as a result of her desperate attempt to marry a French marquis. The sociological makeup of Americans in Paris in the first half of the twentieth century extended far beyond the well-known Left Bank writers and artists. It included everyone from rich American women married to en-titled but cash-poor Europeans, to business entrepreneurs, to former soldiers. There were an estimated 40,000 Americans in France in the 1920s, most of whom did not write or draw.<sup>46</sup>

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(1933; repr., New York, 1990), 78. Henry Luce’s famous article “The American Century” appeared in *Life*, February 17, 1941.

<sup>43</sup> Earnest, *Expatriates and Patriots*. On two centuries of an increasing democratization of travel to France, see Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago, 1998); Levenstein, *We’ll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930* (Chicago, 2004); Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004).

<sup>44</sup> Harold Stearns, “Apologia of an Expatriate,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 85, no. 3 (1929): 338–341, both quotes from 339. The “Apologia” is a letter that Stearns had written to F. Scott Fitzgerald.

<sup>45</sup> Lilian Lida Bell, *The Expatriates: A Novel* (1900; repr., New York, 2005), 69, 121; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1989.

<sup>46</sup> Warren Irving Susman, “Pilgrimage to Paris: The Backgrounds of American Expatriation, 1920–1934” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1957), 165, citing the *Chicago Tribune European Edition*.



Indeed, the vast majority of the interwar American colony in Paris took umbrage at the term “expatriate.” They considered it to be a derogatory epithet and wrote in to the *Paris Herald* to say so.<sup>47</sup> This generally well-heeled American community, living for the most part on the Right Bank of the Seine, did not want to be confused with the Left Bank writers and artists. But although they sought to distance themselves from those bohemian types, even this more posh set came in for some criticism. After the first income tax law was passed in 1913, the American industrialist overseas, while being hailed for opening up new markets, was nonetheless suspected, alongside the idle rich, of having left home in order to avoid paying taxes. Whether they were fleeing taxes or Prohibition, the writers, drinkers, and tax evaders never lost their citizenship in the process; marrying a foreign man was apparently a much more serious sin. But they contributed to an image that was often far from flattering. Into the 1960s, “expatriate” was still frequently a pejorative term. Those who left the United States during the Vietnam War era as draft evaders or conscientious objectors came in for their share of opprobrium.<sup>48</sup> And the critical implication of the term was summed up by a frequent misspelling: “expatriot.”

At the same time, a new explosion of historical writing in the 1960s and 1970s turned the focus to the 1920s writers, helping to reinvigorate a fascination with the concept of expatriation. The 1920s Americans in Paris and their 1950s cousins became the center of attention of a new generation of historians, themselves critical of American politics or culture and captivated anew by the stories of those who had left the United States in the interwar years or after World War II. Whites and African Americans, men and women, writers, artists, and musicians, straight and gay, were rediscovered and heralded for their intellectual vibrancy and critical spirit.<sup>49</sup> By the 1960s and 1970s, the noun “expatriate,” most often used in reference to a time and a place—1920s Paris—had clearly transformed the legal concept into a historical and metaphorical term. In the process, ironically, the romanticized interwar expatriates, a symbol of voluntary exclusion, can also be seen as harbingers of the more inclusive late-twentieth-century transition to a notion of expatriation without loss of citizenship.

BY THE MID-1960S, A NEW FIGURE of the leave-taker emerged: the globalized expat. In this most recent (fourth) period of contemplating expatriation, increased mobility, well beyond what either John Lowell or even Elihu Root had imagined, has given new meaning to the concept of citizens abroad. Just as immigration law itself was becoming more inclusive, with the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act finally eliminating nationality quotas and shifting to a hemispherically defined entry system that would ultimately change the complexion of America, expatriation case law was also evolving, to once again include categories of individuals who had formerly been banished for bad behavior.

American citizens abroad, acclaimed as a novel phenomenon by Root in 1910,

<sup>47</sup> Al Laney, *Paris “Herald”: The Incredible Newspaper* (New York, 1947), 144.

<sup>48</sup> Roger N. Williams, *The New Exiles: American War Resisters in Canada* (New York, 1971); John Hagan, *Northern Passage: American Vietnam War Resisters in Canada* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

<sup>49</sup> See n. 3 above.

became increasingly common by the end of the twentieth century. "Expats" and, most recently, dual nationals have been conceptualized as potent proof in the new discourse on globalization. The colloquial abbreviation "expat" seems to have arisen in the British colonial context in the 1960s. It first appeared as the title of a poem by the British author D. J. Enright.<sup>50</sup> But by the latter part of the twentieth century, it was frequently used in the United States and elsewhere to mean a new class of citizens abroad, clearly differentiated from the 1920s writers and artists. In business circles, "expat" is most often used to designate someone sent abroad to represent a multinational firm. International companies offer assistance, advice, and benefits to those they send overseas. The expat's status is generally a privileged one, complete with expense accounts and tax adjustments. It could not be further from the idea of loss of citizenship.

And, indeed, after half a century of generally expanding the definition of expatriating acts (with the happy exception of the 1922 and 1931 reversals on marriage), case law defining citizenship loss took a new turn in the second half of the twentieth century, ultimately restricting the list of actions that could lead to forfeiture of nationality. Voting abroad, for example, began to be called into question as a potentially expatriating act. When an American citizen living in Greece voted in an election there in the 1950s, it was not considered grounds for citizenship loss because the individual argued that he did so not with the intent of relinquishing his U.S. citizenship but under the duress of political circumstances: he had voted so as not to raise suspicion among his (hostile) neighbors that he was a Communist! However, in the early 1960s, when a dual national in Japan who had voted in a Japanese election defended himself against expatriation on the grounds that not to have done so would have incurred the suspicions of *his* neighbors, the court found that he had otherwise good relations with his neighbors, and there was no independent proof that he was at risk. In that case, the fear-of-neighbors defense did not suffice, and he lost his U.S. citizenship.<sup>51</sup>

The tide was generally turning, however, in favor of allowing a wider range of activities on the part of American citizens abroad. In 1967, in *Afroyim v. Rusk*, the U.S. Supreme Court made a key ruling that turned the page on the 1907, 1940, and 1952 definitions of expatriating acts. The *Afroyim* decision emphasized that expatriation must be the clear result of an individual's voluntary intent to relinquish citizenship, and that the party alleging expatriation, that is, the government, has the burden of proof: "In our country the people are sovereign and the Government cannot sever its relationship to the people by taking away their citizenship."<sup>52</sup> This

<sup>50</sup> The shortened term, "expat," is used only in the title. The poem uses the full term, "expatriates," in a self-mocking way: they "speak in loud voices," are "in it for gain"; "One is neither one thing nor the other. / So one is loved by no one." D. J. Enright, "Expats," *Times Literary Supplement*, August 10, 1962. Cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1989. The *Random House Dictionary*, 2nd ed. unabridged, 1983, dates the origins of the term to 1960–1965, and indeed it is absent from *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, begun in 1961. The 2000 *American Heritage Dictionary* considers the term "chiefly British."

<sup>51</sup> Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), *Operations Instructions and Interpretations* (Washington, D.C., 1971-482-319/SC-6), sec. 349.1(f)(3)(i); 8 I. & N. Dec. 317 (1959); *Tanaka v. Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 346 F. 2d 438 (1965).

<sup>52</sup> *Afroyim v. Rusk*, 387 U.S. 253 (1967) at 257. *Afroyim* overturned *Perez v. Brownell*, 356 U.S. 44, 61 (1958). See INS, *Operations Instructions and Interpretations*, sec. 349.1(d)(2); and Gerald C. Harvey,

renewed insistence on intent re-located the act of expatriation clearly with the individual rather than the state, in withdrawal rather than banishment. As voting and ultimately naturalization abroad have come to be viewed with greater equanimity, the risk of involuntarily losing one's American citizenship has decreased.

Acceptance of dual citizenship has been an important corollary to this limitation of involuntary expatriation.<sup>53</sup> The high era of the nation-state, from the late eighteenth century to the late twentieth century, rested firmly on the notion that a person could belong to only one country. Expatriation and naturalization were construed as antithetical to dual citizenship. The possibility of changing one's citizenship did not mean that one could belong simultaneously to two nations. The American view was that "naturalization invests the individual with a new and single allegiance, automatically absolving him from the obligations of the old."<sup>54</sup> Dual citizenship was characterized as everything from a "disagreeable dilemma" (Talbot, 1795) to "a self-evident absurdity" (Theodore Roosevelt in 1915). Through the 1960s, international law considered that "every person should have a nationality and should have one nationality only."<sup>55</sup> However, dual citizenship has grown recently as the result of two concomitant trends. First of all, major countries of emigration, such as Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and the Philippines, have begun allowing it, forcing receiving countries to accept the fact that those who naturalize do not necessarily shed their original identity, let alone their passports. The United States has long since abandoned the pretense of enforcing its own naturalization precept that requires the abjuring of previous citizenship. Secondly, dual citizenship today refers not only to Mexicans in the United States but also to Americans abroad. As Gerald Neuman has emphasized, U.S. citizenship has increasingly become disconnected from territorially limited rights, extending greater protection to citizens abroad along the lines of global due process. Growing acceptance of dual citizenship for Americans abroad

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"Expatriation Law in the United States: The Confusing Legacy of *Afroyim* and *Bellei*," *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 13, no. 3 (1974): 406–435.

<sup>53</sup> On dual citizenship, see especially T. Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer, eds., *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices* (Washington, D.C., 2001); Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer, eds., *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World* (Washington, D.C., 2000); Tomas Hammar, "Dual Citizenship and Political Integration," *International Migration Review* 19, no. 3 (1985): 438–450; Hammar, *Democracy and the Nation State* (Aldershot, UK, 1990); Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil, eds., *Dual Nationality, Social Rights, and Federal Citizenship in the U.S. and Europe: The Reinvention of Citizenship* (New York, 2002); "Symposium: A Tribute to the Work of Kim Barry"; Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton, N.J., 2006), esp. chap. 6 on postnational and denationalized citizenship. As Christian Joppke put it, increasing ties to emigrants have meant a "re-ethnicization" of citizenship even in an increasingly transnational world; for the receiving state, however, it means a shift from an ethnic to a territorial view (de-ethnicization). Joppke, "Citizenship between De- and Re-Ethnicization (1)," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 44, no. 3 (2003): 429–458. On this point, cf. Andreas Fahrmeir, "From Economics to Ethnicity and Back: Reflections on Emigration Control in Germany, 1800–2000," in Green and Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave*, 176–191.

<sup>54</sup> Borchard, "Decadence of the American Doctrine of Voluntary Expatriation," 315.

<sup>55</sup> Iredell in *Talbot v. Jansen*, 3 U.S. 3 Dall. 133 (1795) at 165; Theodore Roosevelt, "When Is an American Not an American," *Metropolitan Magazine*, June 1915, in 351.117/50, RG 59, 1910–1929; Preamble to the 1930 Hague Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws, confirmed in the 1963 European Convention on Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality—both reiterated the norm of single citizenship—in Kim Barry, "Home and Away: The Construction of Citizenship in an Emigration Context," *New York University Law Review* 81, no. 1 (2006): 11–59, 43 n. 124. Only in 1977 was a European protocol signed accepting plural nationality.

is also related to the new figure of the mobile expat. Lowell's early-nineteenth-century transatlantic freeholder and Root's early-twentieth-century manufacturer's rep have been there all along, but the increased travel of traders has brought new visibility to citizens abroad. As states are increasingly reluctant to lose their citizens, dual citizenship, and what some have called "external citizenship," is clearly no longer grounds for expatriation.<sup>56</sup>

Recent studies of dual citizenship, however, like most of the literature on citizenship, have looked at the issue primarily from the vantage point of countries of immigration, examining how denizens (permanent legal aliens who are eligible for most social rights) have become dual nationals. More work needs to be done on both the perspective of the emigration countries themselves and historical precedent. To what extent has dual citizenship existed *de facto* in the past? A history of dual citizenship needs to go beyond the notion that it is an invention of the late twentieth century; children born abroad to American parents could always be *jus sanguinis* citizens under U.S. law and *jus soli* citizens elsewhere.<sup>57</sup> It is clear, however, that dual citizenship has taken on new parameters and also is *understood* as new. Perhaps the claim of its novelty is simply a logical corollary to the (however faulty) discourse on the newness of globalization itself. Furthermore, although most of the recent literature has focused on emigration from poor countries to rich ones, the emigration and dual citizenship of the cosmopolitan elite past and present also need more study.<sup>58</sup> In any case, in this fourth period, in which citizens abroad are seen more often as emissaries than as traitors, involuntary expatriation has legally almost been defined out of existence. People on the move have become fully included in the nation's citizenship once again.

AN ESSAY ON NATURALIZATION AND ALLEGIANCE published in 1816 argued that there was no reason to prohibit expatriation because so few Americans emigrated.<sup>59</sup> It took a good century for the focus to change from British and other immigrants coming to native-born Americans leaving. The Population Census of the United States made no provisions for counting private U.S. citizens abroad until 1960, and the attempt was then abandoned in 1980 because of the difficulties of getting accurate data. Yet an estimated 789,000 U.S. citizens emigrated between 1918 and 1950, and the Association of American Residents Overseas estimates that there are more than 4 million Americans abroad today.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Neuman, *Strangers to the Constitution*. On "external citizenship," see Barry, "Home and Away," and Rainer Bauböck, "Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 700–723, 715.

<sup>57</sup> For example, see cases brought to the State Department's attention in 351.117, RG 59, 1910–1929, 1930–1939.

<sup>58</sup> E.g., Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Alain Tarrius, *Les Fourmis d'Europe: Migrants riches, migrants pauvres et nouvelles villes internationales* (Paris, 1992); Anne-Catherine Wagner, *Les nouvelles élites de la mondialisation: Une immigration dorée en France* (Paris, 1998).

<sup>59</sup> Cited in Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation*, 55.

<sup>60</sup> There are no requirements for Americans to register overseas, and because of ambivalence or lack of information, the 1960 and 1970 undercount for Americans living in Canada and Mexico alone was estimated at over 90 percent. Prior and subsequent censuses have enumerated U.S. military and civilian

From expatriation to expatriate to expat: how is it that a concept implying the severing of ties with one's place of origin has become a notion linking one to home? One answer involves the successively changing figure of who is taking leave and for what purpose. The United States may have been founded on a notion of the right to leave, leading Albert O. Hirschman to speak of a "national love affair with exit," but attitudes about leave-takers depend on who is doing the exiting, from where, to where, and when.<sup>61</sup> As long as expatriation was meant as welcoming newcomers to the United States, it was an inclusive concept. Once Americans going abroad were contemplated and seemed to be criticizing the U.S. through their marital alliances or critical writings, the concept became more worrisome, and legislators sought to define expatriates through specifically damnable acts. By the late twentieth century, however, as the number of Americans abroad swelled, and businessmen continued to largely outnumber disgruntled writers and escapees from racism, the law followed its citizens—or their businesses—so that even acts that had once seemed imperative causes of citizenship loss, notably naturalization abroad, became redefined as unproblematic.

Another explanation for the malleability of the concept has to do with a language of liberty. The language of expatriation has, with notable exceptions (American women!), been replete with notions of freedom and even happiness. Expatriation has been described as part of "the advance of mankind everywhere toward freedom, and general recognition of the principle that men are not made for governments but governments for men."<sup>62</sup> Appealing to the reason and justice of civilized nations as against feudal ones, the right of expatriation has been considered indispensable to "the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."<sup>63</sup> This language was maintained in spite of the fact that for a good part of the twentieth century, the codification of expatriation led not to the liberty of choice but to involuntary expatriation, with worries about everything from American women marrying aliens to American men and women voting abroad. Yet even the expatriation of women was at times justified by the argument that women had, after all, freely chosen their husbands! Although the British seaman was no multinational expat, the two have been linked through a language of liberty, of movement, and of choice of belonging.

The declining valence of expatriation and the increasing acceptance of dual citizenship have thus brought us back to what could be called a new form of perpetual membership, albeit in an important reversal of a one-woman, one-country norm. Rather than taking away citizenship from those who have wandered abroad, most countries are increasingly seeking to maintain ties with their absent nationals. Once

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federal employees abroad, along with crews of U.S. merchant vessels. The debate over the counting of private citizens abroad continues today. For statistical estimates, see Harley M. Upchurch, *Toward the Study of Communities of Americans Overseas* (Alexandria, Va., 1970), 2; Robert Warren and Ellen Percy Kraly, *The Elusive Exodus: Emigration from the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1985), 5; Karen M. Mills, *Americans Overseas in U.S. Censuses* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 3–4, 43, 45; *AARO News*, no. 136 (June 2006): 4.

<sup>61</sup> Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Response to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 112.

<sup>62</sup> Flournoy, "Naturalization and Expatriation," 719.

<sup>63</sup> Moore, "The Doctrine of Expatriation," 232; see also 229. Flournoy, "Naturalization and Expatriation," 713.



castigated as an outdated medieval concept, perpetual allegiance has been transformed in an ever more mobile world into modern states' concern with maintaining ties to their citizens however far they may roam. Late-twentieth-century ideas about expatriation have thus returned to a more inclusive understanding of citizenship, making it more and more difficult to dissolve the ties of citizenship, not to mention the taxes, that bind. (The United States has always been one of the few countries in the world to tax citizens on their worldwide income no matter where they reside.) The language of intent assumes perpetual belonging unless there is proof otherwise. Only the occasional business executive contemplates giving up his or her U.S. passport in function of changing tax laws.<sup>64</sup>

However, if the understanding of expatriation has shifted from ingress to egress, the ambiguity of the latter remains. The periodization proposed here offers a way of thinking about changing notions of the nation and who belongs to whom. Yet neither the periodization nor the categories invoked are watertight. There were always precursors and dissenters, cases that whittled away at existing laws. From disapproval of doubly disloyal (in love and money) American-born countesses to dismay over the literary expatriates of the interwar years and then the romanticizing of same, the figure of the expatriate has become transformed today into another, once again romanticized, image, the international globetrotter. Even today, however, the international business expat is not an uncontested figure, as recurrent congressional debates over tax breaks attest.<sup>65</sup> Americans abroad can be viewed as suspicious characters in hyper-patriotic times.

Expatriation, dual citizenship, and the reconfiguration of the legal contours of citizenship remain a challenge to sovereignty. While many states now claim a firmer grasp on their citizens abroad, they have to admit that other states may do the same. In its 1971 *Operations Instructions and Interpretations*, revised and still in use at the end of the twentieth century, the Immigration and Naturalization Service itself noted that the government continued to place certain, albeit increasingly weak, constraints on an individual's actions abroad: "Despite the accepted principle that expatriation is an inherent right, the law has always imposed certain general restrictions upon loss of nationality, either to protect the interests of the United States, or to render effective the concept that expatriation can only occur as the result of voluntary action."<sup>66</sup> If the figure of the expat has become uncoupled from the issue of citizenship loss, as the individual's right to choose citizenship(s) has been reaffirmed against the state's power to withdraw same, the decline of involuntary expatriation and the rise of the dual citizen has come to represent an increasingly capacious understanding

<sup>64</sup> And, perhaps in order to distinguish such cases from the long history of expatriation, another term is being used: "renunciants." Doreen Carvajal, "Citizens Giving Up on U.S.: More Expats Turn In Passports over Taxes," *International Herald Tribune*, December 18, 2006 (the article was published in the same day's issue of the *New York Times* as "Tax Leads Americans Abroad to Renounce U.S."). The *IHT* was, however, obliged to add a clarification in its December 23–24, 2006, edition saying that the December 18 headline had mischaracterized the issue; there is no evidence that more citizens gave up their citizenship in 2006 than before.

<sup>65</sup> A useful source for these debates is *AARO News*. See also Phyllis Michaux, *The Unknown Ambassadors: A Saga of Citizenship* (Bayside, N.Y., 1996).

<sup>66</sup> INS, *Operations Instructions and Interpretations*, 349.1(g); Whelan, "Citizenship and the Right to Leave."



of the non-exclusivity of citizenship. It nonetheless remains to be seen how economic ups and downs, tax laws, and the prolonged aftermath of September 11, 2001, will affect subsequent debates about those who have followed their trade and commerce overseas.

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*AHR Forum*  
**The International 1968, Part II**

Introduction

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In the February issue, we presented Part I of this *AHR* Forum on “The International 1968.” It comprised three articles: “The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960–1975” by Jeremi Suri; “‘1968’ East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History” by Timothy S. Brown; and “Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest” by William Marotti. The three articles in this issue are similarly diverse, offering different perspectives on that turbulent year.

One of the most important legacies of the sixties was the contemporary feminist movement. While this is surely appreciated today, feminism itself, and even female figures, were hardly prominent in the events of 1968. And gender has not been a central theme in accounts of that period. As Sara M. Evans notes in “Sons, Daughters, and Patriarchy: Gender and the 1968 Generation,” young people certainly questioned gender roles, just as they challenged other traditions and hierarchies. But feminist consciousness emerged under different circumstances from those that gave rise to the radicalism of male militants, largely in the context of the movement itself, where women confronted many of the same limitations traditionally imposed on them. And yet “liberation,” both political and sexual, was a byword of the period, inspiring utopian dreams and radical agendas for re-creating the fundamental terms of both private and public life, including the roles of men and women.

Interestingly, when we turn to Jeff Gould’s account, “Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968,” gender and feminist issues play a role, but a very minor role indeed. One of Gould’s aims is to counter the claims of those, like Jeremi Suri, who present “1968” in primarily countercultural terms. In Latin America, at least, Gould sees sixties radicalism as essentially political. To be sure, it is a considerably enlarged sense of politics, infused with radical notions of equality and energized by a festive, utopian spirit. But he also demonstrates that many radicals explicitly rejected the values and styles of the counterculture in favor of a more sober kind of militancy, which aspired to an alliance with the working class. He concludes by noting that these and other attempts to form alliances, both political and social, including those between the new and traditional left, were ultimately short-circuited by the violent repression of state governments. Still, he concludes, large swaths of workers and students, both Communists and young radicals, embraced the egalitarian aspirations of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

With Richard Ivan Jobs’s article, “Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Eu-



Drawing by David Western. Used by permission of the artist.

rope in 1968,” we are squarely back in the counterculture. But here it is seen not so much in terms of its utopian ideology and radical sensibilities but as embodying a fundamental material reality: a Europe which, for the young, at least, was without borders. Jobs reconstructs the patterns of youth mobility that became a kind of rite of passage for the generation who came of age in the sixties. Legions of young people traveled from capital to capital, from one site of protest to another. This was most apparent in May 1968, when young radicals converged upon Paris, transforming it into a European city of the young. As Jobs notes, this peripatetic youth culture not only contributed to the cosmopolitan nature of the counterculture, it also had a longer-term consequence in the borderless Europe that became a reality with the creation of the European Community.

In February’s issue, it was announced that this Forum would contain an article on Russia in 1968. Unfortunately, because of a conflict with a publisher, we were not able to include that piece.

Sons, Daughters, and Patriarchy:  
Gender and the 1968 Generation

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SARA M. EVANS

FEW STUDIES HAVE MADE GENDER CENTRAL to their analysis of the international 1968, although most acknowledge the rebirth of feminism as one of its most profound and lasting legacies.<sup>1</sup> In Western Europe, Japan, and parts of Latin America, histories of contemporary feminism invariably place its origins in 1968, even if the movements themselves usually emerged a year or two later. In the United States, a new feminist movement was already under way, debuting in the mass media in September 1968 with a demonstration at the Miss America Pageant. Even studies that give short shrift to women acknowledge in passing that feminism and dramatic challenges to gender relations were among the primary legacies of the activism of the “1968 generation.”<sup>2</sup> It is an interesting lacuna, then, that leaves these claims under-analyzed.<sup>3</sup> Not only

The author is grateful for generous colleagues who offered resources, suggested bibliography, and read early drafts. Mary Jo Maynes, Elaine Tyler May, Riv-Ellen Prell, and Barbara Welke did all of this, in some instances multiple times. Michiko Hase, Ruth-Ellen Joeres, Patricia Lorcin, Claire Moses, Joanna O’Connell, and Linda White all steered me toward literatures in fields rather distant from my own. Comments and questions from the *AHR*’s reviewer of the penultimate draft were also very helpful. Any errors that remain are the author’s responsibility.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the most interesting gender analyses have focused on Mexico. See Elaine Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 in Mexico* (Albuquerque, 2005); Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Leslie Jo Frazier and Deborah Cohen, “Defining the Space of Mexico ’68: Heroic Masculinity in the Prison and ‘Women’ in the Streets,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2003): 617–660. On a related topic, see also Leerom Medovoi, *Rebels: Youth and the Cold War Origins of Identity* (Durham, N.C., 2005), which explores Cold War masculinity in the figure of the young rebel (Holden Caulfield, Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry, and James Dean) as the origin of “the politics of identity.” Studies of late-twentieth-century feminism in specific countries invariably link it to the student uprisings. See, for example, Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women’s Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York, 1979); Kristina Schulz, “Echoes of Provocation: 1968 and the Women’s Movements in France and Germany,” in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (New York, 2004), 137–154; Claire Duchén, *Feminism in France: From May ’68 to Mitterrand* (London, 1986); Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge, 2003). Jeremi Suri, in his contribution to this *AHR* Forum, enfolds feminist leader Betty Friedan into the counterculture (a location she would probably have resisted) but does not explore gender as a dynamic within the counterculture itself. See Suri, “The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960–1975,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (February 2009): 45–68.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–1974* (Oxford, 1998), chap. 13; Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year That Rocked the World* (New York, 2004), chap. 18; Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of ’68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (Oxford, 2007), 217–219.

<sup>3</sup> On the importance of gender in recent historiography, see the *AHR* Forum “Revisiting ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,’” *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (December 2008):

will an investigation into the broader gender dynamics of the international 1968 help to explain these outcomes, but it will also reveal that gender insurgency was a central component of the rebellions of men as well as women across the globe.

In 1968, feminism was not self-evidently on the agenda. Indeed, visible female leaders were rare. The narratives of most student revolts (some of which were also allied with large labor uprisings) revolve around a set of key male actors, including Rudi Dutschke, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and Mark Rudd, who quickly became household names. Women participated in large numbers, but they remained in the background, unlike male leaders who embodied the movement in the public eye.

On the other hand, even at the time, many would have recognized that this youthful revolt both embraced and advocated an ongoing revolution in sexual norms. The availability of dependable contraception (most notably the pill) coincided with the emergence of a global middle class with unprecedented access to education and affluence. The demographic realities of delayed family formation, prolonged economic dependence on parents, and age segregation accelerated rising expectations of pleasure, consumption, and individualism, and hence of sexual freedom for men and women.

Herbert Marcuse theorized the new possibilities for human liberation in *Eros and Civilization* (1955), in which he sought to marry Marx and Freud by arguing that “the very achievements of repressive civilization seem to create the preconditions for the gradual abolition of repression.” Young people challenging the rigidity of patriarchal institutions embraced Marcuse’s claim that it was possible to imagine “a non-repressive civilization, based on a fundamentally different experience of being, a fundamentally different relation between man and nature, and fundamentally different existential relations.”<sup>4</sup> Their anti-authoritarianism made sexual freedom central to the project of liberation. “It would have been hard to miss the centrality of sexuality to the world revolution of 1968,” world systems theorist Immanuel Wallerstein has observed. “The impact of 1968 was to bring to the forefront what had been a slow transformation of sexual mores in the preceding half-century and allow it to explode onto the world social scene, with enormous consequences for the law, for customary practice, for religions, and for intellectual discourse.”<sup>5</sup>

In 1968, young men and women alike challenged cultural definitions of gender, but in sharply different ways. The revolt of sons against the authority of their fathers and the patriarchal rigidity of traditional institutions, while it challenged traditional constructions of manhood (militarism, financial success, the tradeoff of sexuality for the responsibilities of marriage and family), did not defy the hierarchies of gender. As a result, the subsequent women’s revolts began as conflicts *within* student movements. The utopianism that infused the ideas of the movement and the lived experience of freedom and community in the intense experiences of community organizing and campus occupations offered women new possibilities for self-definition

1344–1429, which explores the enormous influence of Joan Scott’s breakthrough article (*AHR* 91, no. 5 [December 1986]: 1053–1075), as well as the evolution of the concept of “gender” itself.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (Boston, 1955), 5.

<sup>5</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *World Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, N.C., 2004), 85.

and schooled them to engage in political action in their own behalf even as such experiences made clear the pervasive sexism of the time.<sup>6</sup>

From its roots in the southern civil rights movement in the early sixties, the American movement's ideas, tactics, and cultural expressions (from rock music to poster art) resonated with middle-class youth around the globe. And yet it is not the case that other movements were simply imitative. Rather, an international perspective makes it clear that the generational and gender dynamics of youthful movements in 1968 were global despite enormous variations in local cultures. A transnational analysis cannot do justice to the particularities of place, culture, and political context, nor can it provide the rich rewards of the carefully constructed and detailed comparative analyses for which it calls. The remarkable similarities noted here, however, suggest that the gendered dynamics of local and global forces deserve far more scrutiny than they have yet received.<sup>7</sup>

Given the direct link between 1968 and subsequent feminist activism, at first glance it is surprising to discover the absence of gender as a category of analysis in the vast majority of secondary as well as primary analyses of these events. Most national historiographies of 1968, however, have pursued women's history in isolation, thereby leaving the transformative implications of gender analysis outside the mainstream narratives. Closer investigation reveals the power of a gendered paradigm embedded in the ethos of the movements themselves that framed the ways they told their own stories, the ways the popular media perceived them, and most subsequent historical accounts as well. The drama of fathers and sons, filled with military metaphor and sometimes-violent conflict, "made sense" to participants and observers alike. Around the globe, governmental and police power had a male face. Sons of elites were the most visible combatants and martyrs. In subsequent years, male leaders' memoirs offered key narratives of the movements. Evoking a circle of brothers/fellow martyrs, few granted the tensions between women and men in the movement a central place in their stories, in sharp contrast to the later and less numerous memoirs by women. Rather, in their narratives, women were present primarily as witnesses and occasionally as leaders in their own right, honorary men. Thus a series of coherent narratives emerged, obscuring as they illuminated.<sup>8</sup>

In an interesting intersection of history and historiography, women's history as a field was a product of late-twentieth-century feminism, especially in the United States and Europe. Historians began to study the roles of women in 1968 primarily as a search for the "origin story" of feminism, a literature that has remained seg-

<sup>6</sup> For an elaboration of this argument, see Evans, *Personal Politics*; Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York, 1988); Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962–1968: The Great Refusal* (South Hadley, Mass., 1982); Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*; Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> This is another aspect of Timothy Brown's call in an earlier contribution to this *AHR* Forum for studies of 1968 with close attention to the "big 1968" and the "small 1968." Timothy S. Brown, "'1968' East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (February 2009): 69–96.

<sup>8</sup> Lessie Jo Frazier and Deborah Cohen note that in Mexico, "public narratives of '68 have not only been predominantly male but also predominantly elite. This elite male leader version has become the lens through which '68 and subsequent movements have been understood and measured." In later years, they note, women writers expressed their own views using the genre of the autobiographical novel, a pattern that resonates also with the United States. Frazier and Cohen, "Defining the Space of Mexico '68," 618.



regated, rather than becoming central to understanding the international 1968 *per se*. Reframing the youthful revolts of 1968 through the lens of gender, however, clarifies the very different rebellions of young men and women against patriarchal power, explaining not only the emergence of feminism but also the resistance to women's claims within those movements (a resistance continued in the suppression of this part of the story in subsequent narratives) and the centrality of sexuality and the body to feminist critiques in the late twentieth century.

WITHIN THE WIDELY DIFFERENT UPRISINGS that constituted the international 1968, there was one element that was clearly transnational: the generational revolt centered in universities.<sup>9</sup> Young people around the world were linked by "an emergent, globally shared repertoire of imagery, slogans, fashion statements, and music."<sup>10</sup> Sons and daughters of elites and the growing middle classes challenged the authority of their parents' generation on every level, from imperialism to the rules and regulations governing curricula and examinations. The scale of this revolt is difficult to capture. Hundreds of campuses, and even whole cities and towns, were shut down for days and months in France, the United States, Germany, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Mexico, Spain, and Argentina. Thousands of students were jailed, hundreds killed. In most places, women participated in numbers similar to those for men, but in none of them did women appear more than marginally in the lexicon of leaders.

Student rebellions shared an emphasis on spontaneity, authenticity, and anti-hierarchy, and a utopian expectation that revolutionary change could be achieved. That utopianism was fed by the concrete, collective experiences of prolonged strikes and campus occupations. Radith Geismar, then wife of Alain Geismar, one of the leaders of the May 1968 uprising in France, recalled, "The real sense of '68 was a tremendous sense of liberation, of freedom, of people talking, talking on the street, in the universities, in theaters. It was much more than throwing stones. That was just a moment. A whole system of order and authority and tradition was swept aside."<sup>11</sup> The emphasis on spontaneity ("On spontané" was a slogan in France) and on the power of words to challenge the status quo ("on a pris la parole comme on a pris la Bastille": seizing words is like seizing the Bastille) and create a new reality generated an intense sense of making history by living the future in a prefigurative politics—that is, the assumption that activists will live out the vision and the values for which they are fighting.<sup>12</sup> The ecstasy of high-adrenaline activities such as occupying buildings and fighting in the street erased distinctions between day and night, public

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Ronald Fraser, ed., *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (New York, 1988); Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968* (Hanover, N.H., 1996); Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, 2002). There was also a significant component of working-class participation, especially in Southern Europe (Italy, France, Spain), and that variable no doubt had an impact on the feminisms that emerged in those places. See Gerd-Rainer Horn, "The Working Class Dimension of '68," in Horn, *The Spirit of '68*, 93–130. This essay can only initiate an analysis that certainly deserves greater comparative depth.

<sup>10</sup> Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Kurlansky, *1968*, 227. She was interviewed by Kurlansky in 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Margaret Attack, *May 68 in French Fiction and Film: Rethinking Society, Rethinking Representation* (New York, 1999), 1. On prefigurative politics, see Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left*.

and private, work and play, friends and political allies. Student activists, both female and male, felt they could create and experience the benefits of radical forms of liberation. Historian and British activist Sheila Rowbotham recalled, "The extraordinary sequence of events during 1968 led my generation to believe we were moving in the same direction as history. We considered that, unlike our elders, we had no apologies to make . . . We were convinced that we could make everything anew."<sup>13</sup> For a moment, revolution seemed possible, even already present, and the empowerment of that time contained an erotic charge.

THESE WHOLESALe ATTACKS ON AUTHORITY AND HIERARCHY, however, had different political implications for men and women. Young men were the visible leaders, the public figures who actively rejected both the power of their fathers' generation and the culturally sanctioned trappings of successfully achieved masculinity. They attacked the rigidity of school rules, militarism, and the meaninglessness of affluent consumption, arguing instead for authenticity, spontaneity, and freedom from tradition. Eric Zolov, in a recent study of Mexican rock 'n' roll culture, described 1968 in Mexico as "a cumulative crisis of patriarchal values."<sup>14</sup> Earlier narratives by participants and journalists, however, told the stories almost as if men were the only actors. For example, journalist Daniel Singer's classic text on May 1968 in France, *Prelude to Revolution*, has a chapter titled "The Dynamics of Youth or Angry Young Men."<sup>15</sup> His argument about the role of youth as instigators clearly assumes that "youth" = "young men." Similarly, his introductory discussion of key leaders begins: "New situations produce new men."<sup>16</sup>

A critical subtext of the revolt of young male students was that it contested the constructions of masculinity of their fathers' generation. Their choices of gender-bending self-presentation—long hair, rejection of "suits," draft resistance, and anti-war activism—only heightened the threat. Were they really "men"? Conservative Mexican newspapers bemoaned the appearance of Mexican *jipis* (hippies): "The men do everything possible to look like women: their long hair, their tight pants, and even their way of walking. The women, in contrast, cut their hair short, wear trousers, use sweaters, and really, really do look like men."<sup>17</sup> In both Mexico and East Germany, "young 'longhairs' were 'hunted' by police and sometimes administered forced hair-cuts."<sup>18</sup>

Barbara Ehrenreich has argued that within the American counterculture, revolution against the brutality of war disengaged masculinity from its traditional an-

<sup>13</sup> Sheila Rowbotham, *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties* (London, 2001), 191.

<sup>14</sup> Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Singer, *Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 106–112.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 16. Memoirs published primarily by male movement leaders in the 1970s and 1980s reinforced this tendency to see men's experience as the norm. In Mexico, for example, prison narratives by men framed popular memories of 1968. Frazier and Cohen, "Defining the Space of Mexico '68."

<sup>17</sup> Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 134.

<sup>18</sup> Timothy Brown points out that in East Germany, as elsewhere, there was no clear demarcation between counterculture and political activists. Brown, "'1968' East and West," 70–71.



FIGURE 1: Mexican soldiers cut the hair of one of the protesters they arrested on October 3, 1968. AP/Wide World Photos.

chors.<sup>19</sup> Charles Reich rhapsodized about his early encounters with hippies: “They saw how empty and unfulfilling middle-class life could become. They recognized that the goals of money, ambition and power were a trap.”<sup>20</sup> In *The Greening of America*, he described a younger generation that avoided not only those traps but also the spiritually numbing snare of fidelity in sexual relationships: “no oath, no law, no promise, no indebtedness [should] hold people together when the feeling is gone.”<sup>21</sup> This generation of young men appeared to be shedding wholesale the responsibilities as well as the markers that signaled masculine power and success even as they attended elite institutions designed to train them for those roles and positions.

Male student leaders had no intention of eroding the power and authority of men over women, however, even as they refused such traditional trappings of successful manhood as financial success, suburban lifestyles, and acceptance and promotion within traditional power structures. Rather, the subculture of the student movement offered them alternative ways to attain their manhood. The slogan “Make Love, Not War” appeared around the world, from Prague to Chicago. Soon bumper stickers in the United States proclaimed that “Girls Say Yes to Guys Who Say No,” detaching

<sup>19</sup> Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (Garden City, N.Y., 1983), 103–106.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Reich, *The Sorcerer of Bolinas Reef* (New York, 1976), 140, quoted in Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men*, 111.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Reich, *The Greening of America* (New York, 1970), 228–229.



FIGURE 2: Che Guevara. This iconic image has become a universal symbol of masculine rebellion, reproduced on posters, t-shirts, websites, artwork, and more.

virility from militarism with the explicit assumption that women would happily “make love” if the men would not make war. Personal, sexual freedom—without attendant responsibilities—was at the core of the new manhood.

Within each nation’s movement, there was an immense amount of masculine display—verbal combat, sexual conquest, and militaristic fantasies associated with battles in the streets. Photographs of demonstrations in Japan “celebrate the helmet worn by both student protestors and riot police, the barricades, and armed struggle.”<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the photographic record of other struggles highlights barricades, combat with police, and orators at mass meetings—with men for the most part in the foreground. Kristin Ross found that “in the repertory of the approximately 350 posters produced by the Atelier Populaire des Beaux-Arts during May and June, only one bears a representation of a female figure—and it is Marianne, the Republic!”<sup>23</sup> In student spaces—apartments, offices, even occupied buildings—the ubiquitous image of Latin American revolutionary Che Guevara portrayed a bearded, young, brash, gun-toting, self-confident image of the masculine rebel. One Mexican participant said, “Che was our link with student movements all over the world!”<sup>24</sup>

Government officials and police clearly saw the charismatic male leaders as threatening, portraying them as dangerous radicals, violent fanatics, and—in the West—communists (i.e., men who had “gone over to the other side” in the Cold War:

<sup>22</sup> Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 147.

<sup>23</sup> Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 154.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 127. See also Suri, “The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture,” 59.

traitors). The violent response to their uprisings suggests just how threatening they were. Months of street battles and occupations ended by force came to a series of brutal crescendos as Soviet tanks rolled into Prague in August while Chicago police beat protesters at the Democratic National Convention, and the Mexican army massacred several hundred demonstrating students in October. One Mexican protester, reflecting twenty years later, summarized: "If they ask me what the student movement of 1968 was all about, I could tell them that it was the history of how a son rebelled against his government because he could not confront his father, while a president who felt impotent against his own son's rocker lifestyle took revenge against hundreds of students."<sup>25</sup>

The revolt of sons of the elite against institutional, economic, and governmental authority challenged patriarchal power but not patriarchy. Seen as the central drama of 1968, it obscured the ways in which young men and women disrupted inherited notions of masculinity and femininity and the explosive potential of their challenges. To understand those disruptions, it is necessary to explore the very different revolts of daughters.

WOMEN, WHOSE PARTICIPATION IN STUDENT-LED UPRISINGS signaled a sea change in middle-class women's access to higher education, shared both the ecstasy and many of the hardships of these movements. In Western countries, their presence in public, highly politicized settings with a strongly egalitarian ethos opened up unprecedented possibilities for personal freedom. Women's roles in the movements were often conventional (organizing meals, taking minutes, and writing leaflets, for example), and many gained status primarily through relationships with male leaders. At the same time, as Elaine Carey argues in the case of Mexico, "there in a mass student uprising, young, educated, middle-class women took political and social messages to the streets . . . This public involvement had a profound effect on women, and contributed to a growing political and social consciousness that resulted in personal liberation for young women that grew during the movement and the years beyond."<sup>26</sup>

Women's challenge to patriarchy broke the rules not just of female decorum and generational deference but also of gender hierarchy itself. Parents worried not only for their daughters' safety but also for their reputations. In the United States as well as in more traditional societies such as Mexico and Japan, women faced far stronger parental prohibitions against participation than their male comrades.<sup>27</sup> Once involved, young women stepped into a world of public action in which the intensity of round-the-clock involvement erased traditional boundaries between public and private. Utopian, prefigurative politics made radical egalitarianism and personal freedom seem to be within their immediate grasp. As they defied the boundaries of traditional womanhood, claiming public roles previously defined as male, they clashed with the expectations of their male comrades who were busy proving their manhood. These clashes frame the "origins narrative" of late-twentieth-century fem-

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 131.

<sup>26</sup> Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*, 89.

<sup>27</sup> See Evans, *Personal Politics*, 63–64; Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*, 89–95.



inism in country after country.<sup>28</sup> The unspoken premise, however, is that student movements had empowered women with intellectual tools and political skills that they could turn to their own issues. In this sense, these movements functioned as free spaces within which young women could challenge identities premised on subordination and domesticity.<sup>29</sup> For these reasons, young women's revolt was far more radical, in the sense of being fundamental, than that of men.

Awareness of that fact, however, dawned only gradually, as women at first hesitantly and then more forcefully began to push back against the resistance they met within the movement. The earliest version of this revolt took place in the younger branch of the southern civil rights movement, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). As early as 1964, black women were reported to have protested their relegation to office work within the SNCC, and two white SNCC activists, Casey Hayden and Mary King, challenged the movement to live up to its own ideals in its treatment of women with a paper that at the time they dared not sign: "This paper is presented . . . because it needs to be made known that many women in the movement are not 'happy and contented' with their status. It needs to be made known that much talent and experience are being wasted by this movement when women are not given jobs commensurate with their abilities."<sup>30</sup>

In a more widely read paper in 1965, Hayden and King expanded on the links between the lessons of the movement and the dilemmas of relations between the sexes: "Having learned from the movement to think radically about the personal worth and abilities of people whose role in society had gone unchallenged before, a lot of women in the movement have begun trying to apply those lessons to their own relations with men." Anticipating the early slogan "The personal is political," they wrote, "We've talked in the movement about trying to build a society which would see basic human problems (which are now seen as private troubles), as public problems." But they concluded that there was no chance of beginning "a movement based on anything as distant to general American thought as a sex-caste system." All they could hope for was conversation and personal support within the movement.<sup>31</sup>

Hayden and King seem tolerantly bemused by the laughter that was the most common male response to the issue of women's rights. By late 1967, however, a few American women activists had decided that they must meet separately from men, and through 1968 and beyond, their anger crescendoed alongside the hypermasculinity of students battling in the streets.<sup>32</sup> As in France and other countries a year or two later, when women began to make demands, it was "not clear that those

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Duchén, *Feminism in France*, chap. 1; Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*, chap. 6; Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, chap. 7; Hilda Bendowski, *Wie Weit flog die Tomate?* (Berlin, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of "free space," see Evans, *Personal Politics*, chap. 9, and Sara M. Evans and Harry C. Boyte, *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America* (Chicago, 1992).

<sup>30</sup> Evans, *Personal Politics*, 76, 83. Quote from "SNCC Position Paper: Women in the Movement," November 1964, reprinted in Evans, *Personal Politics*, 234.

<sup>31</sup> Casey Hayden and Mary King, "Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo," November 18, 1965, reprinted in Evans, *Personal Politics*, 235–238, quotes from 236, 237.

<sup>32</sup> For more detailed discussions of the relationship between the civil rights movement and the emergence of women's liberation, see Evans, *Personal Politics*; McAdam, *Freedom Summer*; Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left*; Mary King, *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 1988); Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*, Revised Edition (New York, 2006).

demands were viewed by male militants at the time as at all compatible with 'the movement of '68.'"<sup>33</sup>

Although the women's movement in the United States was embryonic in 1968, the narrative of its beginning and its breakaway from the "male-dominated new left" spread rapidly through global activist networks. It is startling to read the parallel narratives of late-twentieth-century feminism in country after country in subsequent years, but these were more than echoes. The intensity of women's responses in widely diverse settings suggests that the gendered experience of 1968, although hardly universal, was definitely global in its reach. The year 1968 marks the beginning of feminist initiatives everywhere outside the communist world that there were student uprisings, and in every case utopian hopes and new levels of political self-confidence drove women to expand specific disappointments within their movements into a wide-ranging analysis of gender inequality centered on the female body.

Mexican women activists recall that they developed new skills and a new political consciousness despite occasional resistance from their *compañeros*, who argued that street actions were too dangerous for women. "The *compañeros* wanted to send us to the kitchen, but we wanted to dedicate ourselves to learning to propagandize and to do what they were doing," said Isabel Huerta.<sup>34</sup> Activist Ana Cedillo similarly recalled, "Many people (both men and women) told us that we should buy food and then cook . . . because the guys are the ones that . . . go out into the street and talk, fight, confront the police—not us women. But some of us rejected that role . . . We said, 'No! We have to go out into the street and learn. We want to fight and participate in the same way that you do. We don't want to stay in the kitchen. We want to go out and talk with people.'"<sup>35</sup> Constrained in public settings both by political inexperience and by comrades who "kept on treating us like inferiors," some women nonetheless "began to discover our own abilities and answered: 'Yes, I do know and I can do these things.'"<sup>36</sup>

In France, the Mouvement pour Liberation des Femmes (MLF) emerged in the aftermath of the May Movement. Women described their disillusionment with the contradictions between an anti-hierarchy discourse and sexist behavior. "Women realized that far-left groups perpetuated women's oppression through the power struggles inside the groups, the way that men monopolized discussions, spoke in a masculine political language with which women did not identify, the way that the sexual division of political activity was maintained, and the way that women were, in general, kept in inferior positions."<sup>37</sup> Antoinette Fouque recalled that "the first meetings took place in October 1968 in the wake of the May Movement which, after ten years of anti-imperialist struggles concerning Algeria and Vietnam, opened up a complex political situation and brought to the surface an additional contradiction—the sexual contradiction. During May–June, there hadn't been anything spe-

<sup>33</sup> Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 154.

<sup>34</sup> Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*, quote from 88. See also Zolov, *Refried Elvis*; Frazier and Cohen, "Defining the Space of Mexico '68"; and Cynthia Steele, *Politics, Gender, and the Mexican Novel, 1968–1988* (Austin, Tex., 1992).

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Frazier and Cohen, "Defining the Space of Mexico '68," 642.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 645.

<sup>37</sup> Françoise Picq, "The MLF: Run for Your Life," in Claire Duchén, ed., *French Connections: Voices from the Women's Movement in France* (Amherst, Mass., 1987), 24.



FIGURE 3: A young woman challenges riot police in Paris, France, near the Mabillon intersection, Boulevard Saint Germain, in May 1968. SIPA PRESS.

cifically to do with women: we were involved in ‘agit-prop’ at the Sorbonne. Mulling all this over took all summer, and in October we—that is, three women including myself—took the initiative of organizing women-only meetings: they were the first ones. At that time we spent a lot of time justifying what we were doing.”<sup>38</sup>

In Germany, an SDS conference in September 1968 refused to discuss Helke Sander’s speech on women’s issues. A very pregnant woman, Sigrid Damm-Ruger, enraged by the realization that SDS did not consider childcare a serious issue, threw the tomato she had brought for lunch at the male leaders. At that point, Inez Lehman leapt to Sander’s defense, and two months later, Ulrike Meinhof—at the time a well-known journalist and later a legendary member of the violent Red Army Faction—published “Women in SDS, or ‘On Our Own Behalf’” in *Konkret*, a popular journal. With these events, the debate that would soon spin off into a separate women’s movement was on.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, in Italy, Japan, and Mexico, feminist movements grew rapidly in the aftermath of 1968 even as the movements that had given birth to them were disintegrating. And in the United States, each segment of an increasingly identity-based movement—Black Power, La Raza (Puerto Ricans), Young Lords (Chicanos), Asian American organizations, and Gay Liberation—sparked an internal critique by

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Antoinette Fouque, *Le Matin*, July 16, 1980, reprinted in Duchén, *French Connections*, 51.

<sup>39</sup> Bendowski, *Wie Weit flog die Tomate?* 11–22. Kurlansky reports the story that evolved from this single tomato, describing “angry women . . . pelting men with tomatoes”; 1968, 117.

women who found it necessary to meet separately in order to articulate the linkages between gender and the goal of liberation.<sup>40</sup>

In every instance, women placed a priority on speaking for themselves, seizing language (“on a pris la parole”) to tell their own stories, centering their analyses and their protests on the female body, and insisting on leaderless ultra-democracy. French women in the MLF contrasted their practices “to masculine discourse, based on knowledge and power,” emphasizing instead “the subjective, . . . pooling personal experiences. In contrast to the notion that the more militant you are, the more ‘saved’ you’ll be, to the idea that the activist is superior, understands the oppression suffered by the oppressed, and speaks on their behalf, we invented a new political practice, with each woman speaking about herself, about ourselves and in our own names only.”<sup>41</sup> In the United States, on September 7, radical women grabbed the attention of the mass media with a protest at the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City. Crowning a live sheep, auctioning off an effigy (“Ladies and Gentlemen, she walks, she talks, AND she does housework”), and tossing girdles, bras, and hair curlers into a “freedom trashcan,” they held up a large poster of a woman’s body marked up like a butcher’s chart (“rump,” “rib,” etc.).<sup>42</sup> (See Figure 4.)

Sexuality and the sexual revolution were central to women’s sense of grievance, and provided a new frame for this global wave of feminism. Around the world in 1968, sex had been a key sign of freedom from authority, of spontaneity, of an unalienated pleasure-affirming vision. One of the first demonstrations at Nanterre—seedbed of the March 22 Movement led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit—demanded that men be allowed to freely visit the women’s dormitory.<sup>43</sup> In Germany, activists from 1968 are “fixed in popular memory as . . . the symbols of a promise of happiness, an adventure, a revolution in thought, an international rock-n-roll movement, a variety of militant existentialism. And eternal youth + guaranteed orgasms.”<sup>44</sup> Women shared the vision. In Mexico in 1968, insouciant young women flaunted their liberation with banners announcing “Virginité Causes Cancer.”<sup>45</sup>

Student movements were rife with erotic energy as young people worked and lived together day and night, sometimes risking their lives, living on the edge. The very personalized ideals of liberation that dominated most movements—especially in the West—lent themselves to a celebration of erotic pleasure that broke the rules of propriety. But the gendered rebellions of women and men in many cases placed them at cross-purposes. Men rebelling against their father’s generation sought sexual freedom, disdaining the constraints of traditional patterns of courtship, marriage, and their attendant male responsibilities. Claiming unconstrained sexual access to women of their own class was, in many settings, framed as a challenge to the double standard, but in the absence of feminist critique, its consequences for women were

<sup>40</sup> Sara M. Evans, *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century’s End* (New York, 2003), 32–38.

<sup>41</sup> Picq, “The MLF,” 25.

<sup>42</sup> See New York Radical Women, “No More Miss America,” 1968 leaflet, reprinted in Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, eds., *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women’s Liberation Movement* (New York, 2000), 184–185.

<sup>43</sup> Singer, *Prelude to Revolution*, 61.

<sup>44</sup> Bendowski, *Wie Weit flog die Tomate?* 11. I am grateful to Mary Jo Maynes and Ruth-Ellen Joeres for this translation.

<sup>45</sup> Kurlansky, 1968, 190.





FIGURE 4: Miss America Pageant demonstration, September 7, 1968. This was the first widely covered demonstration organized by the emergent women's liberation movement in the United States. Feminist movements around the world that emerged in the aftermath of 1968 shared this challenge to the cultural objectification of women's bodies. AP/World Wide Photos.

mixed.<sup>46</sup> Sexual conquest was one of the ways that men achieved status with other men, while being sexually associated with men in leadership was a primary way for women to find themselves in the inner circles of movement leaders. The bitterness in early feminist writings returns to this theme again and again. Women were experiencing a new freedom but found that it could reproduce domination in new ways. An Italian activist fumed, "The erotic explosion which dominates our social life, hailed for removing repression and being emancipatory, is nothing more than the more refined version of ancient sexual slavery."<sup>47</sup> In the United States, feminists claimed that "sexual freedom has meant more opportunity for men, not a new kind of experience for women."<sup>48</sup> Poet and novelist Marge Piercy raged about her experience on the staff of SDS in New York: "Fucking a staff into existence is only the extreme form of what passes for common practice in many places. A man can bring

<sup>46</sup> It is important to note here the need for comparative studies of the sexual dynamics of different movements to place them in the specific contexts of culture, class, and race that shaped the experiences of men and women. Many traditional cultures offered male elites sexual access to women of lower classes as long as they maintained a facade of sexual propriety in relationship to families or at least closely guarded the sexual "purity" of women in their own families.

<sup>47</sup> Quoted in Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties*, 632.

<sup>48</sup> Linda Phelps, "Death in the Spectacle," reprinted in Baxandall and Gordon, *Dear Sisters*, 175.



a woman into an organization by sleeping with her and remove her by ceasing to do so.”<sup>49</sup>

As a result, “the body” emerged as a central focus for feminism in widely divergent contexts. Whether claiming the right to sexual autonomy, dissecting the experience of sexual objectification, challenging the cultural acceptance of violence against women and the tendency to blame rape victims, or wrestling with the realities of childbearing and motherhood, emergent feminists placed the female body at the center of their earliest manifestos. Anne Koedt’s “The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm” circulated widely in 1968 in a ten-cent mimeographed version even before its publication later that year. Appropriating research by sexologists William Masters and Virginia Johnson, Koedt issued a rousing call for female sexual autonomy by challenging the subordination of women’s desire to a model of female sexuality codified in Sigmund Freud’s assertion that there were two kinds of female orgasms, the immature “clitoral” orgasm and the mature “vaginal” orgasm. At a contentious early meeting near Chicago in November 1968, while ideological debates raged about the meaning and focus of the emerging women’s liberation movement, workshops on Koedt’s paper generated a kind of revolutionary fervor as participants questioned received wisdom and began to imagine sexual autonomy and a feminist lifestyle.<sup>50</sup>

In Japan, a breakthrough analysis titled “No More Toilets” by Tanaka Mitsu, published in 1970, claimed that men divide women into “mothers” or “vessel[s] for the management of lust: a ‘toilet.’” The Japanese word for toilet (*benjo*) had been commonly used for prostitutes and so-called “comfort women” during World War II. Tanaka went on to argue that sexuality was central to women’s subordination and that the liberation of sex was at the heart of women’s liberation. “We want to clarify the most basic relationship of subordination—that between men and women—by clarifying sexuality, which forms the nucleus of our lives as human beings. By doing so, we hope to provide a standpoint from which to think through the liberation of women, to universalize the liberation of women as the liberation of all human beings.”<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the workshop resolutions from the First National Chicana Conference in 1971 led with an analysis of sexual hang-ups and the problem of the double standard: “A quitarnos todos nuestros complejos sexualis para tener una vida mayor y feliz” (Let’s cast off all our sexual complexes to have a better and happier life).<sup>52</sup>

The emphasis on the body and sexuality in feminist discourses grew directly from the emphasis on personal liberation—itself a hallmark of the international New Left—and from the assertion that “the personal is political,” a slogan also heard

<sup>49</sup> Marge Piercy, “Grand Coolie Damn,” in Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (New York, 1970), 430.

<sup>50</sup> Anne Koedt, “The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm,” in New York Radical Women, *Notes from the First Year* (New York, 1968), reprinted in Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine, and Anita Rapone, eds., *Radical Feminism* (New York, 1973), 198–207; Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis, 1989), 107–114; Evans, *Tidal Wave*, 106.

<sup>51</sup> Quoted in Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 144, 145. It is interesting to note that women’s issues did not emerge initially from the student organizations on women’s campuses in Japan. Rather, “awareness of the special problems of women came more easily in the male-dominated universities where the failure of their male counterparts to treat them as equals raised the consciousness of many young women.” Guy Thomas Yasko, “The Japanese Student Movement, 1968–70: The Zenkyoto Uprising” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1997), 22.

<sup>52</sup> “Workshop Resolutions,” First National Chicana Conference, 1971, reprinted in Baxandall and Gordon, *Dear Sisters*, 166.

around the world. It led to campaigns to legalize abortion and contraception, to legitimize lesbian experience, and to create shelters for battered women, rape-crisis centers, women's health clinics, and anti-authoritarian childcare centers.<sup>53</sup> And it set up what became major theoretical differences over essentialism and the difficulty of sustaining a solidarity based on sameness (we are all women) in a group that is also half of virtually every other human identity, whether race, religion, nationality, or class.

The centrality of personal liberation for student movements outside the communist world also goes some distance in explaining the very different relationship between student activism and feminism in Eastern Europe. Women in Warsaw and Belgrade, for example, had experiences that paralleled in many ways those of their sisters in the West. They stepped into new public roles and gained essential political skills, but rarely played visible public leadership roles. The crushing of democratic hopes as Russian tanks rolled into Prague and Warsaw meant a sharp contraction of the civic public life that had flourished so briefly, and as a result, women had few opportunities to continue to explore intimations of new possibility. Indeed, in places such as Poland, the institutional harbor for democratic hopes following the crack-down was the Catholic Church, which held out traditional gender roles within the family as a bulwark against intrusive and authoritarian state power. Students, who were reluctant at first to ally with the Church, nonetheless shared an inability to swallow the individualistic utopianism of Western student movements. In their experience, the failed promises of communism (including equality for women) and the repressive role of the state generated cynicism that made claims on public equality for women more complex. Who would want the personal to be political when the family had become a primary refuge against the intrusive authority of the state? Patriarchal power embodied in the state was not something that had excluded women so much as it had been used to place impossible pressures on family life, coercing women into the labor force and regulating reproduction (in some instances with forced abortions). In subsequent conversations that had to wait twenty years until the fall of communism, feminists from different sides of the former Iron Curtain found themselves speaking sharply different languages.<sup>54</sup> At this point, we need a detailed comparison of the gender dynamics of these student movements in relationship to their broader political contexts in order to comprehend more fully the gendered intersections of public and private, polity, family, and personal freedom in the context of the Cold War.

<sup>53</sup> A powerful example of the global reach of the movement is the Boston Women's Health Collective book *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, first published in 1970 and now available in twenty-nine foreign-language editions (see <http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/>).

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, Ulrike Baureithel, "Feindliche Schwestern: Vom schwierigen Umgang der deutsch-deutschen Frauenbewegung miteinander," in Katrin Rohnstock, ed., *Stiefschwestern: Was Ost-Frauen und West-Frauen voneinander denken* (Frankfurt, 1994), 148–158; and Ulrike Helwerth and Gislinde Schwarz, "'Ich glaube, daß wir einen ganz anderen Freiheitsbegriff haben': Variationen über Feminismus," in Helwerth and Schwarz, *Von Mutti und Emanzen: Feministinnen in Ost- und Westdeutschland* (Frankfurt, 1995), chap. 5, 69–85; Paulina Bren, "1968 East and West: Visions of Political Change and Student Protest from across the Iron Curtain," in Horn and Kenney, *Transnational Moments of Change*, 19–35.

In 1968, THE BEGINNING OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT in the United States was a component of the utopian and ecstatic milieu of the transnational generational revolt. "Oh, the ecstasy and the agony of New York Radical Women and Women's International Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH) in 1967 and 1968," wrote Rosalyn Baxandall about what she called "the heady days." "We were, we believed, poised on the trembling edge of a transformation. All the walls and boundaries inside and outside us might be knocked down. There was a yeastiness in the air that made us cocky and strong."<sup>55</sup> Dana Densmore similarly described that first year of feminist activism as "A Year of Living Dangerously": "Of course in our apocalyptic thinking, we never envisaged this struggle being one that would go on for twenty, fifty, a hundred years. In this, too, we were progeny of the sixties: we were going to remake the world in the next two or three or five years. There would be plenty of time for 'a personal life' later."<sup>56</sup> The emergence of feminist movements in non-communist countries with sizable student revolts was the first of a series of "new social movements" (environment, gay rights, women), and its roots in the upheavals of the sixties ran deep. Indeed, as many student movements disintegrated in response to repression and the turn toward left sectarianism, women's liberation carried forward the spirit of '68 well into the seventies.

If the emergence of feminist movements represented a continuation of 1968 outside the communist world, understanding their roots will also tell us much that we are only beginning to understand about those movements themselves and the contexts that produced them. The gender systems, institutional contexts, and changing roles of women and men in each setting require careful attention and comparative rigor. In light of the sharply contrasting experiences of student movements in Eastern Europe, the nature of the state, the presence or absence of public civic spaces, and the role of the state in personal/family life deserve close scrutiny in the study of the international 1968 across the globe. There is much to be learned, for example, about the nature of leadership once the spotlight moves away from the small number of (male) household names to focus on the formation of social movements, how they were sustained and spread, and how and why they declined. The gender dynamics of movements that linked labor unrest with university students and middle-class countercultures will also clarify the ways that gender inflects class as well as race.

Many have argued that 1968 had only minimal impact as a political movement, but that it ushered in considerable cultural change.<sup>57</sup> That argument can be challenged in part by zeroing in on the most obvious example in which the cultural was, in fact, political.<sup>58</sup> Feminist movements reframed political life to include issues that

<sup>55</sup> Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall, "Catching the Fire," in Rachel Blau DuPlessis and Ann Snitow, eds., *The Feminist Memoir Project: Voices from Women's Liberation* (New York, 1998), 210.

<sup>56</sup> Dana Densmore, "A Year of Living Dangerously: 1968," in DuPlessis and Snitow, *The Feminist Memoir Project*, 87.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Paul Berman, *A Tale of Two Utopias: The Political Journey of the Generation of 1968* (New York, 1996); Marwick, *The Sixties*; Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003). Gerd-Rainer Horn, however, sets out to rescue 1968 from those who would "divest 'global 1968' of its radical edge" by claiming that the changes it wrought were primarily cultural and not political, although his focus is not primarily on gender. Horn, *The Spirit of '68*, 2.

<sup>58</sup> Kristin Ross makes a similar point regarding France, but without a primary focus on gender: "Much of my argument in this book goes against the grain of the efforts made in the 1980s to attribute merely 'cultural,' if not moral or spiritual effects, to May. In fact, I have tried to show something close to the

had previously been relegated to the private realm. They also engendered a sizable backlash, and their revolutionary expectations proved unrealistic. The gender challenges of young men and young women in the international 1968 were not congruent, which is why feminist rebellions began as conflict within those movements. Although many of the issues they placed on the political agenda remain unresolved, the changed roles of women and men in the economy, the family, language, and public life, and the ideological, cultural, and institutional reverberations of these changes represent a profound transformation.

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opposite perspective. In May, everything happened politically—provided, of course, that we understand ‘politics’ as bearing little or no relation to what was called at the time ‘la politique des politiciens’ (specialized, or electoral politics).” Ross, *May ’68 and Its Afterlives*, 15.

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Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968

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JEFFREY L. GOULD

CONSIDER SOME OF THE EVENTS IN LATIN AMERICA during the third week of June 1968. In La Paz, Bolivia, students, professors, and workers participated in the “March for University Autonomy” with signs denouncing the “military boot.” In Guayaquil, the port city of Ecuador, students stoned and burned buses in a protest against hikes in fares for public transportation. In Caracas, Venezuela, 25,000 students from the Universidad Central marched in protest against budget cuts. In Santiago, Chile, just weeks after a mass protest movement had been pacified, street violence erupted in the downtown area after eight students were arrested when police broke into the university television station. In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1,500 students compelled the rector and the university council to listen to their views on university reform; for the next three days, thousands of students and others fought pitched battles in the streets with the police and the military. In Argentina, students engaged in mass protests in commemoration of the 1918 Córdoba Reforms, which enshrined the principle of university autonomy throughout the continent. In every major Argentinean city, when police attempted to stop the demonstrations, street fighting broke out. Throughout the country, opposition labor unions joined the protests. In Uruguay, despite a state of siege, student and worker protests continued.<sup>1</sup>

Only the Wars of Independence and the strike wave of 1919 rival the dimensions and simultaneity of the 1968 protests. The largest and most prolonged protest movements took place in Uruguay, Brazil, and Mexico. An examination of those cases can shed light on the common characteristics of this vast mobilization. Military, conservative, and U.S. spokespeople in the late 1960s portrayed Cuban-inspired subversion as the principal threat to national security, necessitating an authoritarian response. Various policymakers and scholars since then have rationalized the necessity for military rule in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay during the 1960s and 1970s, often stressing the rhetoric and practice of the radical left as the cause of the rise of repressive regimes.<sup>2</sup> The “dos diablos” (two devils) thesis that emerged

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<sup>1</sup> *Marcha* (Montevideo), June 21, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago, 2004), 15.



in the 1980s in Central and South America equates the radical left and right and blames them equally for the bloodshed and repression that brought ruin to Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>3</sup> But these claims have a limited basis in the historical record, as the repressive thrust of Southern Cone governments antedated any serious guerrilla insurgency.

In recent years, a scholarly current has emerged that emphasizes the relative superficiality of the political commitment of the protesters, ascribing the rapidity of the formation of the movement to a generalized rebelliousness. The global character of the protests, across the ideological spectrum and the Cold War divides, has led some authors, including Jeremi Suri, to emphasize a “language of dissent” directed at political elites that is largely devoid of specific political content.<sup>4</sup> Paul Berman and Forrest Colburn both underscore the middle-class origins of the New Left and the moral dimension of its protests as the genesis of fatal problems ranging from authoritarianism to abject insensitivity to the needs of the dispossessed class they sought to emancipate. Berman writes: “The entire project of building a new kind of left-wing movement had begun with a moral worry about being privileged in a world of suffering. The idea had been to take privileged young people and put them on the side of the oppressed.”<sup>5</sup> Colburn’s study, rooted in the underdeveloped world, argues that revolution became a “vogue” among intellectuals and university students around the world.<sup>6</sup>

These analyses minimize the importance of the preceding years of student and labor protest and mobilizations and the challenges to class divisions posed by the 1968 protests in Latin America. An egalitarian ethos informed the movement, calling into question all hierarchical social and political relations. The New Left ethos was of course symptomatic of a generalized nonpolitical rebelliousness, exemplified by the counterculture. Yet it was also profoundly political, in that activists tended to politicize all aspects of social and cultural life. Their rejection of parliamentary politics, although certainly problematic, should not be confused with a rejection of politics or as evidence of low political consciousness. Most New Left activists were, indeed, middle-class. But in Latin America, the term “middle class” was geographically and sociologically elastic, including children of low-level government employees, white-collar workers, and shopkeepers, not far removed from the urban working

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Grandin critiques Jorge Castañeda’s *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War* (New York, 1994) for offering such an interpretation about the role of the radical left in provoking military repression. Although Castañeda’s study overlooks the 1968 protests, state repression of these movements was a precondition for the growth of the guerrilla movements.

<sup>3</sup> David Stoll’s *Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala* (New York, 1993) offers an early statement of the “guerrilla provocation of military repression” thesis for the 1970s Guatemalan context.

<sup>4</sup> Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003). Suri’s focus is not on the 1968 protests per se. His analysis of the protests does not deal with their specifically political dimension. He writes: “Extensive student interaction within the framework of crowded, usually urban, educational institutions provided the *infrastructure* for dissent within many societies. The words of prominent iconoclasts . . . supplied the *language* that allowed men and women to express their anger as they had not before . . . In many cases student protesters mobilized around a powerful rhetoric of social criticism articulated by intellectual elites.” *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Berman, *A Tale of Two Utopias: The Political Journey of the Generation of 1968* (New York, 1996), 118.

<sup>6</sup> Forrest D. Colburn, *The Vogue of Revolution in Poor Countries* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 48.

class.<sup>7</sup> Student activists of various class backgrounds managed, at times, to develop innovative forms of communication and alliance with workers and the urban poor.

The social scientist and theorist Immanuel Wallerstein has argued forcefully for the political and world historical nature of the 1968 protests. He propounds an important thesis—that in 1968 the New Left undermined the social democratic and Communist left that, in Latin America as elsewhere, had become a support of the world capitalist system: “We cannot understand 1968 unless we see it as simultaneously a *cri de coeur* against the evils of the world system and a fundamental questioning of the old left opposition to the world system.”<sup>8</sup> A key legacy of the mobilizations was the weakening of the “old left,” the beginning of its agonizing demise. Wallerstein’s analysis is both elaborate and elegant, arguing that beginning in 1848, the old left developed as an anti-systemic movement that prioritized the seizure of state power; by the 1960s it had become complicit with the world system.<sup>9</sup>

Wallerstein’s thesis is relevant to Latin America, where, as in Europe, two poles operated within the mobilizations: the radical or revolutionary left and the Communist parties aligned with the Soviet Union. Following Eric Zolov and others, “New Left” here refers to participants in a wide variety of protest movements, many of whom did not fully endorse the ideological and tactical principles of the revolutionary left, which was often committed to urban and rural guerrilla warfare.<sup>10</sup> The “New Left” did share with the revolutionaries an opposition to capitalism and to the leadership of the pro-Communist left. Up until 1968, the Latin American “traditional” left fought for a “democratic-bourgeois” revolution, in alliance with a progressive bourgeoisie in opposition to feudal and imperial forces. An agrarian reform would help to create the necessary domestic market for manufactured goods and lead to the development of an autonomous, capitalist society. During the 1960s, the Communist parties and their allies had limited electoral significance outside of Chile (where a Communist–Socialist Party alliance captured more than 30 percent of the vote in 1958 and 1964). The Communist left had a major presence, however, in the labor movements of Brazil (until the military coup of 1964), Chile, and Uruguay, and to a lesser degree in Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. The New Left rejected the “reformism” of both the Communist parties and the labor movements. Inspired by the Cuban Revolution, activists placed socialist revolution on the agenda and argued

<sup>7</sup> Orlandina de Oliveira and Bryan Roberts, “Urban Social Structures in Latin America, 1930–1990,” in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Latin America: Economy and Society since 1930* (Cambridge, 1998), 256. As a result of increased educational opportunities, a “new” working class emerged from 1940 to 1970, when the percentage of higher-level employees jumped from 6.6 percent to 12.7 percent of the Latin American urban population.

<sup>8</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, “1968: The Great Rehearsal,” in Giovanni Arrighi, Terence K. Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements* (London, 1989), 101.

<sup>9</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, “1968: Revolución en el sistema-mundo: Tesis e interrogantes,” in Rafael Guidos Bejar, ed., *El juicio al sujeto: Un análisis global de los movimientos sociales* (Mexico, 1990). Wallerstein also places national liberation movements in a framework analogous to that of the traditional left.

<sup>10</sup> Eric Zolov, “Expanding our Conceptual Horizons: The Shift from an Old to a New Left in Latin America,” *A Contra Corriente* 5, no. 2 (2008): 51. Zolov correctly emphasizes the need to “broaden our conceptual understanding” and to also “encompass the non-armed aspects of radical challenges to political and social norms.” He refers to Van Gosse’s *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History* (New York, 2005), which proposes a substantially larger time frame than the late 1960s as well as a wider definition that includes social movements. This essay sometimes employs the term “radical left” to differentiate the more specifically leftist ideological groups and parties.

that because of the imperialist counterinsurgency unleashed since the Cuban Revolution, there was no peaceful, reformist road to socialism. The New Left also opposed the Soviet Union both as a world actor and as a model, without fully articulating a critique.<sup>11</sup>

Wallerstein is correct that the 1968 protests in Latin America were, as in Europe, directed in part against the traditional left, which had become a support of the system. Yet his analysis fails to capture the creative, democratic energies and possibilities that existed within the authoritarian ideologies and structures that constituted the Latin American Communist parties and their allied unions (often relatively democratic).

By using testimonies, most of which were gathered or written twenty or twenty-five years after the events, we can begin to reconstruct elements of 1968 that have generally been overlooked, forgotten, or left out of the narrative.<sup>12</sup> Recently, younger scholars have studied the collective memories of 1968 as well as issues related to gender, sex, and the counterculture.<sup>13</sup> These are important contributions that would be central to any full-scale reconstruction of the movements of that year or its legacies. A more limited but equally useful approach, however, is to excavate what Jay Winter has called “minor utopias”: “imaginings of liberation usually on a smaller scale, without the grandiose pretensions or the almost unimaginable hubris and cruelties of the ‘major’ utopian projects.”<sup>14</sup> In Latin America and elsewhere, these “visions of partial transformation, of pathways out of the ravages of war, or away from the indignities of the abuse of human rights” were often embedded within a “major” revolutionary utopian discourse.<sup>15</sup> These simultaneously emerging visions have often been conflated in ways that obscure the “minor” utopian moments that were often characterized by heightened levels of horizontal and cross-class communication and action around political and economic objectives. Anti-authoritarianism, direct democracy, social equality, and opposition to the Vietnam War were goals that had much in common with the goals of European and North American mobilizations.<sup>16</sup> Such similarities notwithstanding, the intense level of repression in Latin America shaped different legacies and memories.

<sup>11</sup> *Punto Final* (Santiago, Chile), December 17, 1968.

<sup>12</sup> Despite distortions of romanticism and nostalgia, I use the testimonies primarily as a means of gaining partial access to the way actors experienced their new forms of participation and consciousness. See Daniel James, *Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham, N.C., 2000), chap. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Lessie Jo Frazier and Deborah Cohen, “Defining the Space of Mexico ’68: Heroic Masculinity in the Prison and ‘Women’ in the Streets,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (November 2003): 617–660; Victoria Langland, “Birth Control Pills and Molotov Cocktails: Reading Sex and Revolution in 1968 Brazil,” in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, eds., *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War* (Durham, N.C., 2008); Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

<sup>14</sup> Jay Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom: Utopian Moments in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Jay Winter, in *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, points to autogestion—self-management and decentralization—as a common goal. Certainly in different places and times in Latin America during the sixties and early seventies, one could make the argument that the struggle for autogestion in factories, mines, and communities was salient. See Raul Zibechi, “1968: When Those from Below Said Enough!” (Americas Policy Program Discussion Paper, June 3, 2008). He makes a related argument that struggles for “territoriality” began during that period.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EVALUATE THE EVENTS of 1968 in Latin America without reference to the death of Che Guevara in October 1967 and to the revolutionary myth that immediately gathered force. His image became ubiquitous; his banner was carried in thousands of demonstrations. In a Peruvian primary school in May 1968, children sang a ditty about him: "Con una cuchilla y una cuchara que vive Che Guevara!" ("With a knife, with a spoon, long live Che Guevara!") A photo circulated in Brazil with the inscription "a Saint for our time."<sup>17</sup> For the vast majority of activists in 1968, Che's symbolism was more about his sacrifice, his "emancipatory ideals," and his justification for revolutionary violence rather than his specific ideological postulates. His guerrilla exploits (despite his severe asthma), his looks, and his notion of "love" created a powerful, if contradictory, image of masculinity, especially for middle-class youths.<sup>18</sup> They inscribed their own feelings and ideas upon the image of Che, who became an open signifier, albeit within certain broad discursive parameters: an uncompromising opposition to U.S. imperialism and support for Latin American unity.

U.S. and Latin American government officials tended to view the simultaneity of the protests and the similarity of tactics as evidence of Communist subversion and anti-Americanism. Local and international media at times viewed the protests as students' imitation of Europe and the United States, a tale of "keeping up with the Joneses."<sup>19</sup> Many Latin American students did avidly read contemporary works of European Marxist theory, but they scoffed at the notion that they were imitating Europeans.<sup>20</sup> One Uruguayan student responded to a journalist: "The French students were inspired by Che Guevara and I don't know if you are aware that Che was a Latin American."<sup>21</sup> In June 1968, in response to the regime's promise not to allow Rio to become another Paris, a student leader responded: "The generals should remain calm; what happened in France will not be repeated. It will be much worse here."<sup>22</sup> Activists did stay abreast of the news from France and the United States; those protests legitimized their own and fed into a sense of impending world revolution. On the three continents, students struggled for radical university reform, sought alliances with the working classes, and employed similar organizational forms and tactics. Latin American students, however, generally drew key distinctions between Europe (and the U.S.) and their own protest movements. Although there was a great deal of street fighting in Europe, they pointed out that in Latin America, such fighting ended with dead protesters. Second, many argued that economic and political issues were a far greater motivation for students than alienation. As a Mexican

<sup>17</sup> *Time*, May 17, 1968.

<sup>18</sup> See Diana Sorensen, *A Turbulent Decade Remembered: Scenes from the Latin American Sixties* (Stanford, Calif., 2007). She writes: "If the saints of the Puritan revolution were inspired by religious zeal, Che was imbued with an emotion that was its secular equivalent: deeply idealistic, uncompromising, with a private passion for the collective. The frailty of his asthmatic body was transformed through discipline and sheer will into an idiosyncratic, self-made power whose aura has expanded into myth . . . The emerging sensibility of the period found in Che a repertoire of forms through which a new masculine social identity could be worked out." *Ibid.*, 27. See also Florencia E. Mallon, "Barbudos, Warriors, and Rotos: The MIR, Masculinity, and Power in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1965–74," in Matthew C. Gutmann, ed., *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America* (Durham, N.C., 2003), 179–215.

<sup>19</sup> *New York Times*, June 30, 1968; a *Time* correspondent wrote of the Brazilian students, "They read about the French students and decided to try it."

<sup>20</sup> Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* and *One-Dimensional Man* were on the Brazilian best-seller lists for months. See Zuenir Ventura, 1968: *O ano que não terminou* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988), 58.

<sup>21</sup> *Marcha*, June 14, 1968.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in Ventura, 1968, 133.

student commented to a French journalist, "We speak less about alienation and more about a lack of political liberty."<sup>23</sup>

The models of Communist subversion and foreign inspiration offered by government officials and some journalists account for neither the origins nor the simultaneity of the protests. However, there were some structural similarities between Latin America and Europe (and to a lesser extent the U.S.). During the postwar era, university education and secondary school enrollment had increased dramatically on all three continents. In Latin America it jumped by 100 percent between 1955 and 1965 without a corresponding increase in the faculty or in the infrastructure. The economy could not absorb the new graduates, and the job prospects for students were increasingly limited. The Brazilian theorist Ruy Mauro Marini argued in 1970 that the structural roots of student discontent were located in the asymmetry between urbanization, the growth of the tertiary sector, and industrialization: "educational progress has occurred against the grain of the development of the forces of production; moreover the contradiction between the two phenomena only intensifies."<sup>24</sup> For Mauro Marini, the political pressure of the middle classes had led to the expansion of secondary and university education, and the mid-1960s governmental push to reduce the size of public universities was politically consequential.

Throughout the 1960s, increasingly authoritarian South American regimes instituted economic policies (promoted by the International Monetary Fund) designed to combat inflation, emphasizing generalized budget cuts, a freeze on the minimum wage, and harsh repression of strikes. Thomas Skidmore's analysis of the Brazilian regime can also be applied to Uruguay and Argentina: "the principal constraint removed by the authoritarian system was popular pressure . . . Policy makers were able, for example, to assume that a deliberate policy of depressing real wages would not produce mass strikes, nor would concessions to foreign investment risk giving nationalist politicians bargaining power in a divided legislature."<sup>25</sup>

Rightist authoritarianism also intensified as a Cold War response to the left's presence in most labor movements.<sup>26</sup> The Brazilian and Argentinean military developed the policy of "ideological borders" (a precursor of the national security doctrine), which held that the basic national values of God and patriotism could be threatened from within by "alien forces," and therefore the armed forces had to protect those internal borders by any means necessary. Although *ex post facto* arguments have justified repression as a response to guerrilla movements, the chronology of events in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil suggests otherwise, supporting

<sup>23</sup> Claude Kiejman and Jean-Francis Held, *Mexico, le pain et les jeux* (Paris, 1969).

<sup>24</sup> Ruy Mauro Marini, "Les mouvements étudiants en Amérique latine," *Les temps modernes* 291 (October 1970): 723.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Skidmore, "Politics and Economic Policy Making in Authoritarian Brazil, 1937–71," in Alfred Stepan, ed., *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policies, and Future* (New Haven, Conn., 1973), 26. Guillermo O'Donnell produced the classic explanation of authoritarianism in the 1960s and 1970s: the import substitution industrialization model was exhausted, and capital imports necessary for industrial growth had led to balance-of-payments crises and inflation. Authoritarian regimes responded by repressing the labor movements that had blossomed during the preceding years of populist rule. Their primary motives were to halt inflation and create a stable environment for diversified foreign investment. O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973).

<sup>26</sup> Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre*. He presents this argument in the introduction.



the thesis that authoritarianism was fundamentally a means to repress labor.<sup>27</sup> Hugo Cores noted that in no Uruguayan presidential address from 1967 through August 1968 was the guerrilla threat mentioned: "The 'internal enemy' was within the mass movement."<sup>28</sup>

During the mid-1960s, most of Latin America shared several common characteristics: growing student and labor resistance to increasingly authoritarian political structures, inadequate educational and professional opportunities, governmental austerity measures combined with extreme poverty in the cities and in the countryside, and the daily news from Southeast Asia in the light of Che's famous invocation "Two, three, many Vietnams!" These factors combined to ignite student and popular protests.

KNOWN AS "THE SWITZERLAND OF LATIN AMERICA" because of its decades-long history of democracy, social equality, and relative prosperity, Uruguay enjoyed the highest per capita income in Latin America during the early 1950s, with an ample social welfare system. A fall in world prices of beef and wool toward the end of the decade provoked a decline in the value of its exports from \$254 million to \$129 million. Industrial stagnation accompanied unemployment; the government responded by increasing state employment. By 1967, inflation reached 135 percent.

Throughout 1967, the government sought to employ an International Monetary Fund recipe for combating inflation, emphasizing budget cuts. The Communist-led 400,000-member Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT) opposed these measures with marches and strikes. When President Óscar Diego Gestido died of a heart attack in December 1967, the new president, Jorge Pacheco, immediately launched an attack on the non-Communist left, banning groups and closing down newspapers. The CNT was not directly affected by the crackdown but soon felt the brunt of repression. Over the next year, the regime would move in a consistently authoritarian direction, well before the onset of violent resistance or guerrilla activity.

Unusually intense repression of a May Day demonstration set off a wave of protests.<sup>29</sup> Workers, teachers, government employees, and students protested against repression, fought for common demands, and expressed mutual solidarity. By the first week in June, virtually all university and secondary school students and teachers in Montevideo were on strike. Although the government revoked the student trans-

<sup>27</sup> This is not to suggest that the military regimes had similar economic strategies beyond the need to repress labor. As a Brazilian student leader commented decades later: "The Left in general, and especially *Dissidência*, had trouble understanding the modernizing project of the military dictatorship . . . This is the big difference between the Argentine and the Brazilian dictatorships. The Argentine dictatorship retarded the growth of Argentine capitalism, deindustrializing the country. The Brazilian dictatorship pushed capitalism forward." Interview with Daniel Aarão Reis, July 5, 2005, conducted by Angelica Muller and Ana Paula Goulart, Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Hugo Cores, *El 68 uruguayo: Los antecedentes, los hechos, los debates* (Montevideo, 1997), 41. For a similar argument, see Jeffrey J. Ryan, "Turning on Their Masters: State Terrorism and Unlearning Democracy in Uruguay," in Cecilia Menjívar and Néstor Rodríguez, eds., *When States Kill: Latin America, the U.S., and Technologies of Terror* (Austin, Tex., 2005), 278–304. Ryan places a large measure of responsibility for Uruguayan authoritarianism on U.S. efforts to bolster the military and police during the 1960s, and on the successful export of the national security doctrine.

<sup>29</sup> *New York Times*, May 25, 1968.

portation rate hike that had provoked the student movement, activists then called for a revocation of the rate hike for the general public: “Estudiantes a luchar, por el boleto popular!” On June 6, the police fired on a student demonstration.<sup>30</sup>

Over the next few days, students threw up barricades of burning tires and fought police with large homemade slingshots. By June 12, the student movement, backed by teachers, university professors, and the CNT, added to their economic demands, calling for “the defense of liberties, against the repression, and for freedom of the jailed students.”<sup>31</sup> That night, amid street fighting, the Republican Guard arrested 266 protesters.<sup>32</sup> The next day, President Pacheco announced “Medidas Prontas de Seguridad,” a state of emergency that banned union meetings, strikes, and demonstrations and established press censorship. The president argued that labor and student unrest amounted to “subversion destined to undermine legal structures.” The state of emergency bolstered presidential authority and allowed Pacheco to institute a wage and price freeze. He also militarized public employees and those who worked in state-owned enterprises (25 percent of the workforce). Employees had to report to the barracks; striking became “tantamount to desertion.”<sup>33</sup> These actions, designed to crush opposition to the anti-labor policies, marked a major step on the road to authoritarianism.

From May through July, an effective worker-student alliance emerged. In late June, textile workers occupied several factories, and the CNT staged a nationwide protest strike in the private sector.<sup>34</sup> Employing a new tactic very similar to one that was being used in Brazil, student militants organized unannounced gatherings every night at which several hundred protesters blocked traffic and made speeches until the police appeared. These “lightning demonstrations” invariably ended in street fighting.<sup>35</sup> The next three months of protests saw the activists of the traditional left and the New Left often working closely together as new forms of organization and cross-class communication flourished. Despite the state of emergency, resistance from the CNT and students increased dramatically, and the scope of the demands expanded from the strictly economic to the political.<sup>36</sup>

On August 7, a nascent urban guerrilla group, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (the “Tupamaros”), kidnapped Ulises Pereira, the president of the government communications enterprise and a close friend of President Pacheco. The next day, police forces occupied the university. Student protests against the intervention turned into street fighting that lasted for twelve hours. On August 10, the Tupamaros released Pereira unharmed. That same day, street fighting resumed; students and striking meatpackers and metalworkers battled the police. The protesters

<sup>30</sup> Gonzalo Varela Petito, *El movimiento estudiantil de 1968: El LAVA, una recapitulación personal* (Montevideo, 2002), 70. Bullets wounded five students. The chant translates as “Students to the struggle, for the popular-priced fare”—really to maintain the fare rate.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Jorge Landinelli, 1968: *La revuelta estudiantil* (Montevideo, 1989), 35.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 36; *Marcha*, September 27, 1968.

<sup>33</sup> *Time*, July 26, 1968.

<sup>34</sup> *New York Times*, June 19, 1968.

<sup>35</sup> *Marcha*, September 27, 1968; from July 15 until August 9, protesters (mostly students) staged nine demonstrations, including one CNT general strike directed primarily against the state of siege and the wage controls.

<sup>36</sup> Landinelli, 1968, 40. As the main student organization proclaimed, “thousands of ‘agitators’ are struggling against latifundia, exploitation, tear gas, bullets, clubs, and sabers.”



FIGURE 1: The front page of the August 15, 1968, edition of *El bien público* (Montevideo, Uruguay) shows a group of people gathered around the body of Liber Arce, who was shot by the police during a student protest in Montevideo. The headline reads: "The student Arce died. The policeman who shot him with fatal bullet will be tried."

used giant slingshots to fire rocks and crowbars; sixteen police officers were injured.<sup>37</sup> During the fighting, a policeman shot a student named Liber Arce, who died the following day in a hospital. One protester recalled, "In Uruguay you just thought that sort of thing was impossible."<sup>38</sup>

Protests, strikes, and violence continued unabated over the next weeks. President Pacheco singled out the CNT in a speech framed by the thesis of ideological borders: "A country can be lost due to penetration from inside."<sup>39</sup> Police began to employ firearms more frequently, and protesters, behind burning barricades, started using

<sup>37</sup> *New York Times*, August 11 and 13, 1968.

<sup>38</sup> Varela, *El movimiento estudiantil*, 89.

<sup>39</sup> Cited in Cores, *El 68 uruguayo*, 151.

their slingshots to fire Molotov cocktails at the police. Some observers began to describe the conflict as a “civil war.” The locus of street fighting shifted to “El Cerro,” an immigrant-founded working-class community separated by a river from the rest of the city. Meatpackers and secondary school students joined forces in cutting off the area, making it impenetrable to the police. For a week, its 35,000 residents “virtually seceded.”<sup>40</sup>

On September 14, the university authorities called for a “silent march” to commemorate Líber Arce’s death.<sup>41</sup> The violence, however, continued to spiral, as police started to use fragmentation projectiles. On September 21, they killed two students. The next day, the military occupied the university and secondary schools, announcing that they would be closed until October 15. A progressive weekly newspaper editorialized: “Dozens have been shot and wounded and hundreds wounded by machete and saber slashes. Unlike during the May dawn, students are not the only victims. Meatpackers and textile workers also have experienced the fury of the police.”<sup>42</sup> Although labor and student protests continued—the largest of which protested the state massacre in Mexico—the military occupation of the schools combined with the full-scale militarization of the public sector employees, tightened censorship, and the use of shrapnel bombs against demonstrators dramatically weakened the mobilization.<sup>43</sup>

THE BRAZILIAN INSURGENCY WAS ALSO a response to the end of a period of advancement for the popular classes; as in Uruguay, economic issues formed part of the student protest agenda. The military coup of 1964 (approved by the U.S. government), which overthrew the left-leaning government of João Goulart, was primarily directed against the peasant and labor movements.<sup>44</sup> Reflecting the mood of the middle classes, many university and secondary school students were apathetic about the coup. Yet by 1967, following student protests around the country, a broad left coalition won control of the National Student Union (UNE), in the wake of USAID-inspired regime measures that made the university less accessible, less democratic, and more costly.<sup>45</sup> In 1968, there were 89,000 new university students, but 125,000 people who had passed the entrance exam were excluded.<sup>46</sup> The regime’s educational program produced its own opposition. In the words of Marcelo Ridenti, “What appears to have really mobilized the student masses during the 1960s were the frus-

<sup>40</sup> *New York Times*, September 22, 1968; Cores, *El 68 uruguayo*, 151–152.

<sup>41</sup> Cores, *El 68 uruguayo*, 152. It is of more than passing interest that the Mexican students organized their massive “silent march” on September 13, although there is no evidence to suggest imitation.

<sup>42</sup> *Marcha*, September 27, 1968.

<sup>43</sup> *Punto Final*, October 8, 1968.

<sup>44</sup> João Roberto Martins Filho and John Collins, “Students and Politics in Brazil, 1962–1992,” *Latin American Perspectives* 25, no. 1 (1998): 158. The radicalized student movement, in control of the National Student Union, had already distanced itself from its university base and worked primarily toward land reform and advancing union rights.

<sup>45</sup> On the USAID educational reform, see Marini, “Les mouvements étudiants,” 725. See also Martins Filho and Collins, “Students and Politics,” 159–160. The election took place at a clandestine meeting of 400 delegates.

<sup>46</sup> Marcelo Ridenti, *O fantasma da revolução brasileira* (São Paulo, 1993), 128.

trated expectations created by the populist governments, that is, the apparent blockage of their possibilities of social mobility.”<sup>47</sup>

In March 1968, organized students in Rio protested about the deplorable conditions in a government-run cafeteria for thousands of students of limited resources. The military responded violently, killing a student of humble origin named Edson Luis. Some 50,000 people took part in the funeral procession. Within a week, protests spread to fifteen state capitals.<sup>48</sup> The minister of war claimed that a Communist-led movement was seeking to “exploit the emotional state of the students.”<sup>49</sup> In a pithy restatement of the ideological borders doctrine, the military commander of Rio proclaimed that the army must treat the protesters like “an enemy attacking the fatherland’s territory and threatening the nation’s basic institutions.”<sup>50</sup> The regime banned all protests and placed machine gun units at intersections.<sup>51</sup> The ban and the repression pushed students and others toward the new tactic of lightning demonstrations, in which several thousand militants, in affinity groups of ten to twelve members, would converge at an agreed-upon street intersection for brief protests.<sup>52</sup>

Throughout May and June 1968, the Communist and radical left participated at times as allies and at other times as antagonists. In São Paulo, on May Day, some 10,000 workers led by leftist union activists took over a celebration organized by the governor and by the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), literally pushing the governor off the stage, proclaiming a red May Day, and launching the call “Only a [general] strike will stop the salary squeeze!”<sup>53</sup> Auto industry workers in the São Paulo area subsequently launched on-the-job work stoppages called “white strikes.” In mid-May, radical union militants led 6,400 workers in a successful strike in demand of a 25 percent wage hike.<sup>54</sup>

Despite some degree of communication and coordination, the Brazilian student-labor alliance lacked the depth of its Uruguayan counterpart. Although some radical labor activists worked with students and former students, the two movements generally operated in separate spheres, in part because of government corporatist policies and (especially in Rio) union opposition to the student movement. In the words of a Rio student leader, “We continued to seek out the workers and they never showed up.”<sup>55</sup>

In protest against police violence, on June 23 thousands of protesters in Rio threw rocks at the U.S. embassy and engaged in street fighting for ten hours, with office workers aiding the protesters by dropping all manner of objects down to them from

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 147; see also the interview with Arantes in *Marcha*, September 13, 1968.

<sup>48</sup> Martins Filho and Collins, “Students and Politics,” 161.

<sup>49</sup> *New York Times*, April 1, 1968.

<sup>50</sup> *New York Times*, April 4, 1968.

<sup>51</sup> *Time*, April 12, 1968.

<sup>52</sup> See interview with José Dirceu, December 17, 2005, conducted by Caio Costa and Carla Siqueira, Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 9.

<sup>53</sup> Cited in Angela Mendes de Almeida and Michael Lowy, “Union Structure and Labor Organization in the Recent History of Brazil,” *Latin American Perspectives* 3, no. 1 (1976): 112.

<sup>54</sup> Antonio Luigi Negro, “Pés e mãos do Brasil grande e potente: As greves de 1968, em Contagem e no ABC,” *História Unisinos* 6, no. 6 (2002): 17.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Daniel Aarão Reis, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 20. In the interview, he referred to students’ efforts to reach the working class through their membership in the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), which was in a process of decomposition. Since 1964, the regime had assiduously pursued a policy of isolating the two movements. See Roberto Schwarz, *Misplaced Ideas: Essays on Brazilian Culture*, ed. John Gledson (London, 1992), 127.





FIGURE 2: The front page of the June 22, 1968, edition of the *Jornal do Brasil* was devoted to the increasingly violent student protests in Rio de Janeiro. The headline reads: "Struggle takes over Rio and students will continue."

the high-rise buildings.<sup>56</sup> On that “bloody Friday,” authorities killed four civilians and wounded nineteen. One soldier was killed by a brick thrown from a building; thirty-five soldiers were wounded. Police and army units arrested some 1,000 people over the next few days.<sup>57</sup> On June 26, an estimated 100,000 people marched in Rio, some chanting “Only the united people will overthrow the dictatorship,” and others “Only the armed people will overthrow the dictatorship.”<sup>58</sup> The interchangeable slogans underscored the uneasy coalition of revolutionary and moderate forces (including the PCB) in the movement.

This “demonstration of the hundred thousand” marked the high point of the student movement, compelling President Artur da Costa e Silva to negotiate directly with the student leaders. The negotiations collapsed, however, because of the regime’s demand that demonstrations be halted.<sup>59</sup> The student movement then declined as it failed to achieve its demands or respond successfully to a governmental offensive against its activists.<sup>60</sup>

On August 29, with arrest warrants for seven student leaders, heavily armed troops occupied the University of Brasilia. It marked the beginning of a wave of severe repression. In October, the police and military arrested 700 members of the UNE who had attended a clandestine congress in rural São Paulo.<sup>61</sup> In December, when the student and labor movements were both virtually inactive, the regime announced a series of new laws known as AI-5 that broke with the veneer of civil rights with which the military had governed since 1964—in effect, a coup within a coup.

As in Uruguay, the Brazilian student movement pushed for economic and political demands, at times in coordination with the labor movement, but with less success. The Brazilian regime, as in Uruguay, was primarily concerned with crushing the labor movement as a means of promoting its economic stabilization policies and eliminating Communist subversion.

DESPITE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES, the events of Mexico often stand in for those of the rest of the continent. If the Brazilian, Uruguayan, and Argentinean movements protested the loss of a decent and just society, the Mexicans protested the gulf be-

<sup>56</sup> On June 19, some 1,500 university students, faced with an imminent attack by the *policia militar* (PM), decided to hold the rector and the university council hostage (a tactic employed at Columbia University in New York and in Europe). The rector and the council, however, seconded the demands of the students and negotiated with the state governor a peaceful exit by the students with no arrests. Notwithstanding the agreement, the PM arrested 400 students as they left the building and beat them. The newspaper photos enraged the population, and the next day the protesters would include many non-students, a fact clearly recognized by the newspapers, which referred to the mass participation of “os populares.”

<sup>57</sup> *New York Times*, June 23, 1968; Ventura, 1968, 133–142.

<sup>58</sup> *Time*, July 5, 1968, stood alone with the low estimate of 25,000 “ordinary people, writers, professors, a labor leader and Roman Catholic nuns and priests” who marched with thousands cheering from the sidewalks. On the battling slogans, see Ventura, 1968, 61–62. This famed event is known as the “Passeata dos Cem Mil.”

<sup>59</sup> Ventura, 1968, 174–177.

<sup>60</sup> The radical labor movement did continue: metalworkers occupied a factory and held its directors hostage. The next day, workers in other factories joined the strike. The regime retaliated by outlawing the union and arresting its leaders. Mendes and Lowy, “Union Structure and Labor Organization,” 114.

<sup>61</sup> Ventura, 1968, 246–250. He describes the UNE congress as an “act of suicide” given the impossibility of holding a clandestine meeting of nearly 1,000 people.



FIGURE 3: A meeting of the National Strike Council (CNH), a representative body that coordinated the activities of the student strikers in Mexico.

tween official revolutionary ideology and practice. On July 23, when a fight broke out between students from two rival schools, the police intervened with unexpected brutality. On July 26, university and secondary school students marched in protest against the police violence; at the same time, the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM) and others celebrated the anniversary of the 1953 Moncada Barracks attack, which launched the Cuban Revolution. The *granaderos* (riot police) violently attacked the demonstrations, killing seven protesters, injuring hundreds, and imprisoning hundreds more. In response, 150,000 students went on strike, with support from many schoolteachers and college instructors and the rector of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). They elected a national strike council, the Consejo Nacional de Huelga (CNH), with representatives from 128 striking schools and departments. Their list of demands included the disbandment of the *granaderos*; the release of all political prisoners, including the 1959 railroad strike leaders and the recently arrested student activists; and the abrogation of undemocratic anti-subversive laws. The strike movement grew rapidly for two main reasons. The fundamental demand, summed up in the slogan “Mexico, Libertad,” struck a deep chord among the populace and gained active adherents to the cause. Moreover, the university students devoted their energy to direct organizing through the 10,000-strong *brigadas políticas*, who distributed up to a million handbills on a given day. These *brigadas* represented at once the utopian element of the movement, unfettered democratic communication, and the limits of the movement’s capacity to mobilize other sectors of society.

Following a wave of repression, violence, and rabidly anti-movement speeches from government officials including the president, on September 13 the students led a silent demonstration of some 250,000 participants, revealing the depths of their popular support. With the Olympics looming less than a month away, on September 18 the regime sent in tanks and troops to occupy UNAM. On September 23, police units and troops attempted to dislodge students from the Casco de Santo Tomás (the Instituto Politécnico Nacional). A six-hour street battle ensued. In the words of a protester, the state forces “were no longer playing around.” “There was no attempt to negotiate . . . they didn’t allow a surrender . . . it was about killing, destruction. Resistance was life or death.”<sup>62</sup> The battle at the Casco de Santo Tomás can be seen in retrospect as a prelude to the October 2 massacre at Tlatelolco, when troops opened fire on a demonstration, killing upwards of several hundred people. The regime rejected any negotiated solution to the conflict and therefore had to rely on repression. At the same time, it needed to end the movement because the Olympic Games, with all the attendant international attention, were scheduled to begin in just a few days. The massacre and the accompanying mass arrests halted the movement, and the Olympics proceeded with little interruption.

DEMOCRATIC FORMS OF ORGANIZATION and significant attempts to rally non-students characterized all three mobilizations. Despite the minimal direct influences of the European protest movements in Latin America, there were striking similarities that are captured in Kristin Ross’s analysis of the French student and labor uprising. Of the struggle for “equality,” she writes:

I mean equality not in any objective sense of status, income, function . . . not as an explicit demand or program, but rather as something that emerges in the course of struggle and is verified subjectively, declared and experienced in the here and now as what is and not what should be. Such experience lies to the side of “seizing state power,” outside of that story.<sup>63</sup>

Ross then suggests that “seizure of power” was a state narrative, blocking off other, deeper meanings of the movement. She underscores one dimension that was repressed in official memories: “subjectivation” (the manifestation of political subjectivity) enabled by “the synchronicity of two temporalities,” that of students and workers. “It lay in the central idea of May ’68: the union of intellectual contestation with workers’ struggle.” Equality emerged in unfettered communication and in collective action. Ultimately, the contestation of the division of labor was the most subversive element of the struggle.<sup>64</sup>

Within the Latin American discussions and demonstrations, a similar ethos of equality emerged, cutting across generational and class lines. There were, of course,

<sup>62</sup> Héctor Aguilar Camín et al., *Pensar el 68* (Mexico City, 1998), 90.

<sup>63</sup> Kristin Ross, *May ’68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, 2002), 73–74.

<sup>64</sup> Ross writes in opposition to the New Philosophers and the historiographical current that interprets May 1968 as a moment of cultural modernization, through the liberation of the individual (see 5–6 and 182–183). She also rejects the critique that people attempted to express that modern individualism through the language of Marxism. Although she does not use the phrase “minor utopia,” her analysis of the importance of worker-student communication and organization is similar to that employed in this essay to discuss the Latin American movements. She does not recognize that in Uruguay especially, student-worker interactions were as salient as in France and Italy; *ibid.*, 4.





FIGURE 4: This monument was erected in 1993 in memory of those who were killed during a student demonstration in the Tlatelolco section of Mexico City on October 2, 1968. Photo by Peter Guardino.



hierarchies within the New Left. Male youths predominated, particularly those with prior leftist political experience.<sup>65</sup> Although the relationship between ideological expression and horizontal communication was always problematic, the guiding force in all of the movements was a shared commitment to remake society along fundamentally different, more socially just lines. Ross's notion of equality relates to a radical democratic consciousness that in Latin America informed the political culture of the protest movements.<sup>66</sup> This consciousness was not usually expressed formally but rather through new organizational forms.

Many of the participants were teenagers. The intense involvement of secondary school students was critical to the movement's growth and also, at times, provided a site of social class integration. The main high school in Montevideo, the Instituto Alfredo Vásquez Acevedo (IAVA), was the scene of nonstop meetings. By late May, a new radical student organization was capable of bringing along the majority of students to its demonstrations, and its democratic operating procedures allowed even the few conservative students to participate in debates:

Some [students] spent all day and night in the Institute, in meetings, assemblies, or in the cafés, and of course taking classes. If there wasn't a mobilization or an assembly, the discussion would continue in all the available spaces . . . we were there to think, talk, act, evaluate the moment and never miss an opportunity to hit the streets.<sup>67</sup>

Another Uruguayan secondary student in 1968 recalled reading and debating materials ranging from Régis Debray to dependency theory. Some Brazilian secondary school students participated in reading groups about *Capital*. The meetings entailed more than the discussion of theory and tactics: "I remember the famous rounds of criticism–self-criticism, where we would stay up until the wee hours of the morning arguing about how we could become better people . . . such was the counterculture of solidarity."<sup>68</sup>

Such testimonies, despite their romantic tinge, give us some insight into the unique activities and intellectual excitement of teenagers in 1968. *Asambleas de clase* (class assemblies) provided the framework for these discussions. Characterized by direct democracy, the *asambleas* emerged in every Montevidean public secondary school. According to Hugo Cores, an activist in the labor movement at the time, "The *asambleas de clase* were something new, with long-term consequences, with (mostly) young people as protagonists who for the first time . . . in their own way discussed issues that they linked to events and theories, committing themselves to solidarity and protest."<sup>69</sup>

The *asambléias de turmos* in Brazil and the *asambleas de escuela* in Mexico were similar organizations that involved secondary school and college students. In Mexico, every school or department elected representatives to the CNH. *Asambleas de es-*

<sup>65</sup> Brazil seems to have been something of an exception, as some women occupied leadership roles. See interview with Comba Porto, November 3, 2004, conducted by Carla Siqueira and Tataiana Di Sabbato, Projeto Memória do Movimento Estudantil, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 12–13.

<sup>66</sup> Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London, 2001).

<sup>67</sup> Varela, *El movimiento estudiantil*, 100.

<sup>68</sup> Cited in Eduardo Rey Tristán, "Movilización estudiantil e izquierda revolucionaria en el Uruguay (1968–1973)," *Revista complutense de historia de América* 28 (2002): 195.

<sup>69</sup> Cores, *El 68*, 60.

*cuela* operated on principles of direct democracy; they instructed delegates on what to say or how to vote: "whoever did not carry out the mandate was removed."<sup>70</sup> Students experienced this rapid radicalization process as both a personal transformation and a political and social awakening. One "prepa" leader recalled how shocked he was to see some one thousand students attend and actively participate.

I think it had something to do with a desire to be heard . . . to enunciate one's point of view . . . even when it didn't have anything directly to do with the essential content of the demands . . . From the night to the morning, students, women, men, workers, teachers, became involved in a process that from one day to the next allowed people to understand the significance of the demands that they made their own.<sup>71</sup>

Virtually all testimonies of high school and university students recall high levels of personal fulfillment and intense political commitment. "My life changed completely in the student movement," a Mexican student activist related. "For me as an actor, among hundreds of thousands, that feeling of freedom was exciting, palpable in the marches and the demonstrations."<sup>72</sup> Eduardo Valle, a Mexican student leader of working-class origin, recalled:

'68 was a moment of libertarian action, of immense commitment with a few abstract ideas that we believed in; it also was a lot of fun, the immense pleasure to be in the street confronting power . . . it was also intellectual pleasure; personally it was a commitment that I took on with the assumption that something or even a lot could happen to you.<sup>73</sup>

Although women were a very small minority on the CNH, some recall a similar dramatic transformation. Adriana Corona, interviewed twenty-five years after the events, believed that women were generally treated as equals in the movement. Nevertheless, she recognized that some male leaders took advantage of women, and that males often relegated women to traditional roles. Yet for Corona, the most serious forms of inequality existed in women's highly restricted home life. The spirit of transformation, however, was clear: "Humanly, I felt that the movement was something unique in my life, that I would never live again and that I had to live it with everything that I had to give."<sup>74</sup> A Brazilian female militant shared a similar memory: "Suddenly, for the simple reason of being there, breathing that atmosphere . . . partaking in that broader cultural discussion, I don't know, but I began to stand out as a leader."<sup>75</sup>

What should we make of these testimonies of "illumination," fulfillment, and sudden but total involvement in the political realm by secondary school and university students? Many critiques of the global New Left have focused on the political superficiality of the commitment and the birth of new forms of individual expression

<sup>70</sup> Luis Tomás Cervantes, in Rubén Aréchiga Robles, *Asalto al cielo: Lo que no se ha dicho del 68* (Mexico City, 1998).

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Gastón Martínez, in Raúl Jardón, *1968: El fuego de la esperanza* (Mexico City, 1998), 273.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Max Mendizábal, *ibid.*, 165.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Eduardo Valle, *ibid.*, 229. There are similar testimonies for the Brazilian case: "I was a very happy person. Despite the limitations imposed by clandestinity, I believed in what I was doing . . . I felt at peace with my conscience and happy with what I was doing. I think that everyone (in our group) was happy." Ridenti, "O fantasma," 263.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Adriana Corona, in Jardón, *1968*, 254.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Comba Porto, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 4.

that later would be co-opted into consumerism.<sup>76</sup> The writer Luis González de Alba, a former Mexican student leader, suggests that the rapid transformation in political consciousness was indeed superficial and not as important as a generalized spirit of rebellion. In 1993 he wrote: "For twenty-five years we have been giving an almost religious explanation: the Sacred Spirit of social conscience descended upon the students . . . and they made society's demands their own."<sup>77</sup> He argues that the "left's" demands for freedom for political prisoners and the elimination of an anti-subversive article in the constitution had been rejected by university students before July 1968, along with attempts to mobilize against the war in Vietnam. This view, however, minimizes the relevance and importance of the preceding decade of student and labor mobilizations.<sup>78</sup>

After underscoring the highly repressive and formal nature of Mexican society, González de Alba writes: "And one day we sent everything *al carajo* (to hell). It wasn't because of Marx it was Reich . . . how much fun was the fiesta, the streets in our hands, the carnival, the laziness, the stopped traffic, the *desmadre* (utter chaos), the sudden sense of brotherhood among strangers, the appropriation of an always alien city, security and warmth of solidarity."<sup>79</sup> There is no doubt that a powerful ludic element permeated all of the student and popular protests. Indeed, to varying degrees, students throughout the continent shared this experience and sense of non-stop communication combined with the challenge to societal norms. Yet the opposition between the festive and the cognitive/political dimensions of the protest is problematic.<sup>80</sup> In a radically different context, indigenous and ladino peasants shared festive occasions with urban artisans in El Salvador in the early 1930s that were key moments in the transformation of political consciousness.<sup>81</sup> Most revolutions and radical social movements involved the overturning of societal norms and the creation of a new sense of accelerated time (or timelessness) in which people suddenly became aware of societal structures.<sup>82</sup> A Uruguayan recalled that "if you believed that the revolution would come in five years, you were called a reformist."<sup>83</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See Ross, *May '68*, especially 12–14, 182–185.

<sup>77</sup> Luis González de Alba, "La fiesta y la tragedia," *Nexos* 189 (September 1993).

<sup>78</sup> See Jaime Pensado, "The (Forgotten) Sixties in Mexico," *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics, and Culture* 1, no. 1 (June 2008): 83–90. He argues that the student and labor mobilizations starting in 1956 were vital preconditions for the 1968 movement.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. Victoria Langland has similarly underscored this ludic and erotic dimension to the student protests in Brazil. See Langland, "Birth Control Pills and Molotov Cocktails."

<sup>80</sup> The Mexican scholar Enrique Krause offered a similar depiction in the Symposium on 1968 in *Dissent*, Spring 2008, 18: "The movement of '68 was festive, irrational, generous, romantic, expansive, argumentative, destructive, irreverent, and Manichean in its view of reality."

<sup>81</sup> See Jeffrey L. Gould and Aldo A. Lauria-Santiago, *To Rise in Darkness: Revolution, Repression, and Memory in El Salvador, 1920–1932* (Durham, N.C., 2008), 76–79. Similarly, in *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912–1979* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), 177–180, I discuss a similar utopian moment with a festive air on a mosquito-ridden island in Chinandega, Nicaragua. In recent research in Morazán, El Salvador, I have detected similar moments of political transformation and festivity among peasants working with the *iglesia de los pobres*.

<sup>82</sup> Greg Grandin, "Living in Revolutionary Time: Coming to Terms with the Violence of Latin America's Long Cold War," in Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence in Latin America's Long Cold War* (Durham, N.C., in press).

<sup>83</sup> Rodrigo Vescovi, *Ecos revolucionarios: Luchadores sociales, Uruguay 1968–1973* (Barcelona, 2003), 431.

NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS SOUGHT TO BREAK OUT of the student milieu and involve broader sectors of society, especially the working class. At times, however, their emerging ethic and language made the search for an alliance problematic. As in Europe, many young radicals in Latin America rejected "politics," and shared a sense that even the left participated in the established order and that any electoral political strategy was fatally compromised and flawed.<sup>84</sup> This posture often alienated workers who identified with unions and Communist parties.

The New Left style (ethic and language) tended to isolate student activists not only from the working class but also from those influenced by the counterculture. A Uruguayan recalled his high school days: "The main thing was militancy and not study, the negation or the minimizing of private life and parental and affective ties, the valorization of personal sacrifice . . . and the devotion to the political struggle conceived not as a free option but as an irrepressible moral obligation."<sup>85</sup> Another former activist commented that the "search for the new man" implied a personal transformation that emphasized austerity.<sup>86</sup> This austerity was part of a "proletarianization" process in which middle- and upper-class students created an image of themselves as proletarians, or at the very least held an image of the proletarian as an ideal, and with that image a rejection of everything petit bourgeois (a new word entered the Uruguayan vocabulary: *pequebú*), an accusation thrust at those who played tennis, played the piano, or went away for the weekend.<sup>87</sup> Notwithstanding this style, Uruguayan students related to workers more effectively than did their counterparts in Brazil or Mexico.

Fernando Gabeira, a Brazilian journalist of working-class origin, joined a splinter group from the PCB known as a Dissidência, most of whose members were much younger students. He recalls being stunned by their austerity, ascribing it to their having come of age during the dictatorship. "For them everything was politics. Some joined the organization before having their first romance." He recalled how Dominginho would always carry around a 38-caliber pistol and documents about guerrilla warfare. "I asked him so Dominginho why don't you buy a record? Why don't you get a girlfriend and make out with her on the garden bench?" He responded, "O que é isso, companheiro?" ("What's that . . . ?")<sup>88</sup>

This is not to say that all of the New Left adopted this style or enforced its values of total rejection of "bourgeois society." There were certain gray areas in relationship to "pleasure," especially sexual.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, what seemed so serious for the militants had another dimension, as Ross described for May '68: "the pleasure that was sometimes found in simply overcoming social boundaries in a deeply compartmentalized society."<sup>90</sup> That said, the internationally inspired counterculture did conflict with the revolutionary morality of the young activists. As one Brazilian student leader commented, "Although there were exceptions, the leadership of the student

<sup>84</sup> Virtually all of the testimonies cited in this essay stress the rejection of electoral politics.

<sup>85</sup> Varela, *El movimiento estudiantil*, 109.

<sup>86</sup> Rey Tristan, "Movilización estudiantil," 195.

<sup>87</sup> Vescovi, *Ecos revolucionarios*, 423–424, points out that the "obrerismo permanente y la crítica a gran parte de lo que fuera burguesa" led to the "eroticization of misery," in which people would in effect marginalize themselves and experience hunger so as to remake themselves.

<sup>88</sup> Fernando Gabeira, *O que é isso, companheiro? Depoimento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979), 52.

<sup>89</sup> See especially Ventura, 1968, 29–42.

<sup>90</sup> Ross, *May '68*, 103.

movement and the more radical movements were composed of people who, in general, resisted this type of [countercultural] liberation."<sup>91</sup>

Marxism was the language in which students conceptualized their need to reach out to industrial workers or peasants. For all of its merits as an analytical tool, Marxism as a political language relied on collective nouns, representing social forces. Gabeira, in charge of a Dissidência's efforts to organize auto workers, remembers wondering, "Why did the workers look at us with such diffidence, coolness? What was wrong about our propaganda against the wage policy and in favor of an independent class organization?"<sup>92</sup> He buried these thoughts: "We lived perhaps a bit under siege from our repressed questions." Part of the problem had to do with language.<sup>93</sup> He recalled the numerous people who showed up at the assemblies around the time of the funeral for Edson Luis in March 1968. People were speaking two different languages. Students spoke the language of analysis. Workers did not see a solution to the nation's problems but could speak of how they felt "suffocated by a thousand daily problems, by fear, by poverty."<sup>94</sup>

In Mexico, the student movement reached out to workers to support their demands. *Brigadas políticas* of between ten and thirty students traveled mainly throughout Mexico City in a constant effort to explain the political significance of the movement and the repression. "That was really the soul of the movement," said one participant, "the thousands of us students scattered around in the markets, in the plazas, in the factories, in the *ejidos*, making propaganda."<sup>95</sup> Interviewed in October 1968, another militant commented, "The *brigadas políticas* have been the 'great success of our movement.'" He also remarked that inside the factories there was no response whatsoever; outside, workers sometimes joined the movement demonstrations as individuals.<sup>96</sup> Although the *brigadas* mustered significant support for the movement, most of it came from the middle classes. As an activist commented at the time, "We have the impression that we are imprisoned in a vicious circle, that of the petit bourgeoisie, of the middle class."<sup>97</sup>

Influenced by Marxism but facing a working class under the grip of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI, in power since the 1920s), the students tried to find a language that would break out of abstractions. One student activist recalled how others from the political science and philosophy departments used Marxist categories to communicate with the *gente del pueblo* (popular sectors), and as a result "there was no communication. On the contrary, there rose a wall of mistrust."<sup>98</sup> But after various such encounters, "I was a witness to how the language began to change

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Daniel Aarão Reis, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 17. Judging from pictures and testimonies, the counterculture as experienced and symbolized in the U.S. and Europe was not a strong presence in the 1968 protests. Such a superficial view does not take into account other dimensions of transnational cultural forms, especially music.

<sup>92</sup> Gabeira, *O que é isso, companheiro?* 54.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. Gabeira did admire the concreteness of the famous student leader Vladimir Palmeira.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>95</sup> Cervantes in Aréchiga Robles, *Asalto al cielo*, 111.

<sup>96</sup> Kiejman and Held, *Mexico, le pain et les jeux*, 53.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 52. There were famous exceptions in the petrochemical and electrical industry and among railroad workers. The suburban village of Topilejo also became a strong bastion of movement support.

<sup>98</sup> Elena Poniatowska, *La noche de Tlatelolco: Testimonios de historia oral* (Mexico City, 1971), 28–29.



... we were finding a common language ... the people began to teach us its way of speaking, and their applause indicated that they understood us."<sup>99</sup>

A leaflet produced by students at the Instituto Pedagógico Nacional (IPN) reveals some of that common language and an attempt to forge a common identity. "Your children don't get a good education but you pay the bills ... We want you to understand that the students aren't the sons and daughters of the potentates who exploit you; they are the sons and daughters of *el pueblo*." In another leaflet, produced by the CNH, the first paragraph describes the daily routine of a worker: "there is no future for your children, for your workmates, only work, work, work." Then the leaflet underscores the role of the *sindicatos charros* (PRI-dominated unions) and their complicity in repression. "Now is the time to protest; as always the students are ready to serve you. Don't recognize the sell-out leaders; make new organizations and come to us for orientation."<sup>100</sup> Despite its concrete language, two points establish the distance between enunciator and receiver. First, the effort to create an identity between student and worker, in the case of the IPN, had some basis in reality: more than 30 percent of IPN students had a working-class background (compared to approximately 13 percent of UNAM students). Their need to underscore the point, however, suggests the efficaciousness of government propaganda that painted them as spoiled rich kids.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, the second leaflet slipped into class arrogance when it told them to come to the students to find out how to rid themselves of *charrismo* (corrupt unions).<sup>102</sup> With varying degrees of success, students in the three countries sought to overcome their abstract language, exacerbated by class and by Marxism, in order to broaden their own political base and to overcome their alienation from their compatriots.<sup>103</sup>

THE STRUGGLE TO ALLY WITH THE WORKING CLASS at once reflected and sharpened major divisions between the traditional left and the New Left. In the early months of 1968, the bulk of mobilized students and workers did not belong to either faction. By later in the year, however, thanks to their militant response to state repression, the radical left had gained significant control over the movement (with the arguable exception of Mexico). Yet the ideological debates between the two poles were never of great interest to the mobilized workers and students; that lack of salience, to an extent, allowed the tendencies to coexist. Certainly this was the case in Mexico, where Communist militants and ex-militants (who predominated in the CNH leadership) worked closely together. In Uruguay, the CNT and the students engaged in mutual actions of solidarity. The Uruguayan Communist Party also had student members who were active in the student movements.<sup>104</sup> Similarly, "la Tendencia," the inde-

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>100</sup> Jardón, 1968, 315.

<sup>101</sup> Sergio Zermeno, *México, una democracia utópica: El movimiento estudiantil de 68* (Mexico City, 1978), 184–185.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. Frazier and Cohen, "Defining the Space of Mexico '68," 642–643, offer other examples of the new language of the *brigadas*, suggesting its female dimension.

<sup>103</sup> Marxism has, at times, been molded into a concrete language and used metaphors effectively instead of abstractions. The Communist Manifesto offers the most famous example.

<sup>104</sup> The three student martyrs were Communist Party members.

pendent radical left coalition that predominated in the student movement, also had a significant presence in the CNT. The class origins and economic situation of especially the secondary school students also favored cross-class communication.<sup>105</sup> Even in Brazil, the radical left, born in rupture with the PCB, tolerated the “reformists” in the student movement.<sup>106</sup> In Chile, the radical left, a growing force in the student movement, was engaged in a bitter ideological battle with the Communists. Salvador Allende, however, was able to maintain a precarious unity between the “revolutionary” and “reformist” tendencies of the Socialist Party. In short, throughout the continent, the Wallerstein thesis held true: the New Left provoked a virulent debate on the left. For most rank-and-file militants, however, the debate was less important than the fight for immediate objectives (however radical); the “old” and “new” left thus had to coexist, even if not in harmony.

Notwithstanding the continental trend, in Brazil the level of ideological fragmentation on the left was intense and debilitating. There were twenty leftist organizations, and the National Student Union was split into seven tendencies.<sup>107</sup> Despite their support for armed struggle, the coalition in control of the UNE in São Paulo and Rio opposed the national leadership (a Maoist group) because of their revolutionary intransigence and because of their failure to struggle for specifically student demands.<sup>108</sup> The Rio and São Paulo militants organized around specifically student issues, such as admissions (*verbos*), laboratories, food, and tuition costs. Led by Vladimir Palmeira, they promoted internal democracy and negotiation with the state so as not to push it further to the right.

The Palmeira group was serious about making the university an alternative to the regime, a “critical university.”<sup>109</sup> As Zé Arantes, a leader at the University of São Paulo, stated to a journalist in delineating the differences with the national UNE leadership: “This has to be clear: we [students] are not going to make the revolution. The UNE has to fight for specifically student demands . . . the police and the army have to be destroyed but for this to happen the masses need a revolutionary party to formulate actions . . . the task of the student movement is to carry out to its ultimate consequences the struggle against the government’s educational policy.”<sup>110</sup> Within this abstract language, we can see how Arantes strove to overturn the notion of students as leaders of the revolution and to recognize the validity of their own struggles against the privatization of education. This student “syndicalist” position

<sup>105</sup> Landinelli writes: “The conjuncture allowed for the re-creation and the cohesione of multiple circuits of integrating solidarity between the student movement and the unions. Although this integration did not always mean a uniformity of criteria about tactics, on the most basic level—the visualization of the common enemy and the recognition of the same programmatic interests—there was a confluence . . . in turn a relevant factor in the development of the social struggles.” 1968, 77.

<sup>106</sup> Ventura, 1968, 68.

<sup>107</sup> *Marcha*, September 13, 1968; cited in Ridenti, *O fantasma*, 134. The Ação Popular (AP), a group that had moved from radical Christian to Maoist positions, was in control of the majority of the UNE leadership. They called on the student movement to lead the fight against the dictatorship, without any recourse to negotiation. Marxist-Leninist hegemony on the left, with its epistemological bias in favor of vanguards with “correct lines,” promoted division throughout the continent; in Brazil, the common origin of militants in the PCB made this tendency more pronounced.

<sup>108</sup> *Marcha*, September 13, 1968.

<sup>109</sup> Quoted in Ridenti, *O fantasma*, 134; see also Ventura, 1968, 70–72.

<sup>110</sup> *Marcha*, September 13, 1968. José Dirceu substantiates this point; the Dissidência and another PCB offshoot promoted the idea of the “Critical University” (which he acknowledges as a European borrowing). See interview with José Dirceu, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 11.

stands in contrast to the view that the moral posture of privileged students led to bad faith vis-à-vis those they sought to liberate.<sup>111</sup>

In October, police arrested Arantes along with 700 other delegates to the national congress. In the mass confusion at the police station, he managed to escape and fled to Cuba, where he joined a guerrilla group and received military training. Upon his return in 1971, the police captured, tortured, and then assassinated him.

VIOLENT REPRESSION BOTH PROVOKED and ultimately crushed all of the movements, but the rhetoric and reality of violent resistance also short-circuited their political development. The Communist parties counseled against the use of violence, but very often their own militants and sympathizers engaged in resistance to the police and military. Those who believed in an armed revolutionary strategy to achieve socialism were often not the instigators of violent resistance but invariably justified it. Referring to the burning of cars in a demonstration, a Uruguayan militant commented, "the students answered the police violence from the day before. We shouldn't criticize response violence (*violencia respuesta*)."<sup>112</sup>

Although there were numerous radical leftists who worked to keep the level of violence to a minimum, their ideological symbols, rhetoric, and fervor inspired others to resist by any means at their disposal. Many recently politicized students and workers came onto the scene quite prepared to fight back. Codes of masculinity, especially vengeance and the image and message of Che, conditioned such reactions. Most significantly, secondary school and polytechnic students in Mexico and Uruguay consciously defended their school installations and equipment.

In Mexico, there was a strong undercurrent of violence among some students and barrio youths (lower-middle-class and *lumpen*). Non-students played important roles in the increasing violence, many nurturing grudges against the *granaderos*. As one militant recalled, "For the gang boys these confrontations were both fun and a libertarian *grito* (shout)."<sup>113</sup> Militants improvised new tactics and weapons. They learned to attack the flanks and the rear of the *granaderos*. Chemistry students perfected Molotov cocktails that required no fuse. Engineering students helped design mortars that would launch the devices some forty to fifty meters. By September, the level of confrontation had intensified. As one militant recalled, "Our attitude toward the *granaderos* had changed a lot. Instead of feeling repressed, we advanced, we confronted them . . . we had perfected our arsenal."<sup>114</sup> Although the dynamic of

<sup>111</sup> See Berman, *A Tale of Two Utopias*, and Colburn, *The Vogue of Revolution*. Despite his formal adherence to Leninism, and reflecting the political openness at the "liberated" University of São Paulo, Arantes argued for a policy that included negotiations with the regime, citing Andre Gorz in support of a strategy of structural reforms that altered class correlations of power. Brazilian students used the term "syndicalism" to describe student organization around high school or university issues.

<sup>112</sup> *Marcha*, June 14, 1968.

<sup>113</sup> Jorge Poo Hurtado in Aréchiga Robles, *Asalto al cielo*, 128. Poo Hurtado adds: "when the battles of July 26-30 take place in the center of the city, gangs and groups of youths from the barrios of Tepito, de la Guerrero, de Peralvillo, and Morelos [participate]; the same occurred later in the street fights at Tlatelolco. In the battles at *el Casco*, the participation of the gangs of Santa Julia, of San Rafael, and of Santa María were determinant in order to confront not only the *granaderos* but also the mounted police"; *ibid*.

<sup>114</sup> Jaime García Reyes quoted in Camín et al., *Pensar el 68*, 88.

repression and resistance involved a contest for symbolic authority, there was also a practical struggle in the streets and schools. Despite silence on the issue of violence by the CNH leadership, in Mexico the radicalized base fought back with the implicit expectation that they would oblige the government to capitulate.

In Mexico, as well as in other Latin American countries, the lack of coordination between the leadership and the radicalized base aided the far right. With some variation, ideological divisions characterized each regime.<sup>115</sup> The employment of *agents provocateurs* and the use of violent repression were favorite tactics of the far right, designed to push the left into more militant forms of resistance. The New Left operated within implicit boundaries: most importantly, militants avoided killing police or civilians. Yet, as the street fighting and bloodshed continued month after month, the use of weapons such as mortars and Molotov cocktails and even firearms became tolerated in some circles. When that boundary was crossed, the radical left played into the hands of those promoting a Latin American version of the *strategia della tensione* that the right was developing in Italy: terrorist bombings blamed on the left, which created a political atmosphere conducive to authoritarian politics.<sup>116</sup> Indeed, a faction of the Brazilian regime reportedly planned to blow up *gasometro* lines in Rio, which would have caused tens of thousands of deaths that would then be blamed on the "communists."<sup>117</sup>

Toward the end of 1968, the state crushed or demobilized student and popular movements in Uruguay, Brazil, and Mexico.<sup>118</sup> In all three countries, guerrilla movements recruited student militants and gathered force in the wake of the movement defeats. In Uruguay, the Tupamaros, the urban guerrillas, battled the authoritarian regime for the next few years; in 1973, the military took complete control of the government. In Brazil, the two main urban guerrilla organizations staged dramatic actions in 1969, but by 1971 the regime had dealt them a mortal blow. In Mexico, throughout the 1970s, the regime unleashed the "Dirty War," using state terrorism to crush the nascent urban and rural guerrilla movements.

THE VIOLENT LEGACY OF 1968 was not particularly surprising. More so was the ease with which the military achieved victory. Wallerstein and others have suggested that there were other, more positive legacies. As in the United States and Europe, the origins of the women's movement in Mexico are traceable to the events of 1968.<sup>119</sup> The same is true of liberation theology, whose public origins are identified with the conference of Latin American bishops in Medellín, Colombia, that took place that year. The documents that emerged from that conference, certainly among the most

<sup>115</sup> For an excellent account of divisions in the Brazilian regime, see Elio Gaspari, *A ditadura envergonhada* (São Paulo, 2002), 297–305. As he points out, neither faction was serious about negotiations with opponents. See also Ventura, 1968, 210–211.

<sup>116</sup> Eduardo Giovanni and Marco Ligini, *La strage di Stato: Controinchiesta* (Milan, 1993).

<sup>117</sup> Ventura, 1968, 210–212. The plan was thwarted by a captain, Sergio Ribeiro, a highly decorated paratrooper who refused to go along with the plot.

<sup>118</sup> A September 1968 conference in Rio involving General Westmoreland and his Latin American military colleagues looms ominously in this picture. Was it mere coincidence that the military lowered the boom shortly thereafter?

<sup>119</sup> A women's movement predated 1968 in Mexico. See Jocelyn Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 2005).



FIGURE 5: A march in Montevideo in support of Raúl Sendic, a leader of the sugarcane workers and a founder of the Tupamaros.

important documents of the twentieth century in Latin America, were the result of years of lay and clerical organizational work in barrios and rural communities. The document that announced the Church's "preferential option for the poor" and its commitment to radical social change marked the culmination of the first stage of the *iglesia popular* (people's church).<sup>120</sup>

Pope Paul's denunciation of Marxism permeated the Medellín documents, and some priests and lay people promoted liberation theology as a way of preempting the radical left, which had exploded onto the continental political scene that year. Although the Medellín documents were based on years of work, they are products of 1968 in that they reflect both the hope and the anxiety that the protests inspired in sectors of the Church. Throughout the continent, Catholic clergy and participants in Ecclesiastical Base Communities forged alliances with leftist militants.<sup>121</sup> In 1968, the student and popular struggles at times allied with the emerging *iglesia popular*, and at other times the new ecclesiastical movement drew inspiration from the egalitarian ethos of the New Left.

The potential for dialogue within the various sectors of the "movement" and with the *iglesia popular* did not have a chance to mature. The division on the left at a formal ideological and strategic level was often reduced to two groups—one committed to unwavering struggle, ultimately armed, against the local bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies, in competition with another committed to a reformist, electoral strategy. This dichotomy tended to occlude the myriad of radical democratic discourses that circulated inside and to some extent outside the movement. Thus the Chilean radical left scorned the resolutions of the Christian Democratic Party's national congress that called for a non-capitalist development strategy based on au-

<sup>120</sup> Documents prepared for the Medellín Conference speak of "toma de conciencia rápida y masiva de la situación"; see *Cuadernos de Marcha*, September 1968.

<sup>121</sup> On the close ties between Brazilian student radicals and sectors of the Church (especially the Dominicans), see interview with Daniel Aarão Reis, <http://www.mme.org.br>, 13–15.



togestion and communal control over the means of production, a position also supported by the Communist Party.<sup>122</sup>

Ultimately, violent repression short-circuited communication among these different social and political forces, including those of the traditional and the radical left. Although the rhetoric and practice of the radical left at times played into the hands of Latin America's extreme right, the argument that it was responsible for the horrors of right-wing dictatorships is belied by the chronology of repression. That record of provocation is clear, ranging from the Brazilian *golpe* (coup) of 1964, to the police charge against the May Day rally in Montevideo, to the *granadero* attack on the Mexican demonstrators on July 26, 1968.

With respect to the significance of 1968 as the death knell of Communist-style reformism and the rise of anti-systemic movements, Wallerstein is on strong footing in connecting the 1968 protests (really the 1970s insurgencies) with the rise of the women's movement and the emergence of "minority" movements, in particular the indigenous movements. These movements had their roots in the rejection of the particular notions of vanguards and class that reigned on the traditional left as well as the experience of machismo in the New Left. The *iglesia popular* in the countryside, in particular, was directly involved in the emergence of the indigenous movements. In short, the 1968 movements did push to the forefront the problem of representation as the New Left questioned the Communist parties' vanguard status as well as the preeminent role of the industrial proletariat in the revolution.

Wallerstein's argument is questionable, however, on the role of the pro-Communist left in 1968. He seems to have projected his findings and analysis from other parts of the world onto Latin America.<sup>123</sup> There is simply no way of understanding the three largest movements (and others such as the Chilean movement) without recognizing the active role of the Communists. On the contrary, to suggest that they blocked or opposed the movements is palpably wrong. Of deeper significance is the notion that the core values of the "traditional left" were also tossed out with the bathwater of vanguardism and authoritarianism. The traditional left's commitment to mass organizations of workers and peasants who struggled for structural transformations in society that would improve their lives and grant them more power over institutions was not so much challenged from the New Left as it was crushed by the right. Greg Grandin writes of the legacy of the postwar Latin American left: "The threat of mid-century social movements was that they provided a venue in which self and solidarity could be imagined as existing in sustaining relation to one another through collective politics that looked toward the state to dispense justice."<sup>124</sup> The various groupings of the New Left in 1968 shared that vision and experience, even though they disputed the nature of the state. That shared vision between young and old, worker and student, shaped the utopian moments that punctuated the year.

Believing that they were part of a world revolution, teenagers and young adults rapidly came to take their world very seriously and fought hard to change it. That they did not always do so in the most thoughtful manner should not be cause for

<sup>122</sup> *Punto Final*, December 31, 1968.

<sup>123</sup> When Wallerstein, in "1968: Revolución en el sistema-mundo," 22–23, gets specific about Latin America, he states that the Mexican movement that rejected an established National Liberation government became "the principal revolt in the Third World."

<sup>124</sup> Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre*, 14.

dismissal. That their new ideas and forms of organization were short-circuited because of their acceptance of violent tactics, whether viewed as a tragic loss or not, is part of the historical record. Buried under all the sediment of propaganda, repression, and rage from that year are the memories of direct democratic forms, visions, and solidarities that still matter in Latin America and beyond.

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RICHARD IVAN JOBS

THE YEAR 1968 WAS A SIGNIFICANT MOMENT in the cultural history of European integration. The events of that year marked a turning point in the emergence of a cohort of young people who had come, through travel, to conceive of themselves not merely as members of a particular nation, but as a continent-wide, transnational social group.<sup>1</sup> It was a group based largely on age, and one that professed culturally internationalist sensibilities in addition to, and often instead of, nationalist sensibilities. As young Europeans traveled between protest sites, they expressed this solidarity explicitly; some even demanded the abolition of national borders and the establishment of a united Europe with unhindered mobility. Thus, one aspect of the general internationalism of 1968 was specifically Europeanist and was expressed within the context of ongoing European integration. The experience of travel within the emergent youth culture helped to shape a politicized European identity among the young protesters of 1968.

The ease and frequency with which middle-class young people in the 1960s traveled to cities such as Amsterdam, Berlin, London, Paris, and Prague created interpersonal solidarities that were crucial to the formation of movements that challenged national demarcations of power. More than mobilization, travel became the foundation for a youth identity that emphasized mobility and built a shared political

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<sup>1</sup> Scholarship, particularly in the last decade, has emphasized the transnational and global nature of 1968. Examples include Ronald Fraser et al., *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (New York, 1988); George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston, 1987); Etienne François et al., eds., *1968—ein europäisches Jahr?* (Leipzig, 1997); Aldo Agosti et al., eds., *La cultura e i luoghi del '68* (Milan, 1998); Carole Fink, Philipp Gasser, and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge, 1998); Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, ed., *1968: Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1998); Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c. 1974* (New York, 1998); Peppino Ortoreleva, *I movimenti del '68 in Europa e in America* (Rome, 1998); Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Power of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); Andreas W. Daum, Lloyd C. Gardner, and Wilfried Mausbach, eds., *America, the Vietnam War, and the World: Comparative and International Perspectives* (New York, 2003); Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (Oxford, 2007); Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977* (New York, 2008); Belinda Davis et al., eds., *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in 1960s/70s West Germany and the U.S.* (New York, forthcoming 2009); Martin Klimke, *The "Other" Alliance: Global Protest and Student Unrest in West Germany and the U.S., 1962–1972* (Princeton, N.J., forthcoming 2009).

culture across national boundaries. These qualities challenged the frontiers of dominant state powers, which were used to contain, segregate, and frequently close access for groups across societies. In this sense, through physical and ideological movements, young people in the late 1960s sought to create their own kind of European community.

In the spring of 1968, for example, twenty-two-year-old Richard Holmes had just completed a degree at Cambridge and was living in a poor neighborhood of London near Paddington station in a building full of young people who formed a kind of quasi-collective. He wrote,

It was a restless time. The window of my attic room overlooked the shunting yards of Paddington station, and my dreams were shaken by the whistle and roar of departing trains. The sense of movement and change was everywhere. News of disturbances in Paris had been reported piecemeal in the English papers for weeks, but largely in terms of isolated disruptions by students at Nanterre, or *syndicalistes* at Renault. Then I began to get letters from friends already in the city, speaking in confused, rapturous terms of the long "sit-ins," the great marches and demonstrations, people coming from all over Europe—Berlin, Rome, Amsterdam—to celebrate the new spirit of *liberté*, and take part in some huge, undefined *événement*. It was a carnival, they wrote, and a revolution too, the world would never be the same again, the authorities were cracking, the old order was in retreat.<sup>2</sup>

Holmes received a letter from his friend Françoise, who insisted he should come to Paris. He listened excitedly to live radio coverage, "and the noises seemed to fill my room. I could hear the huge crowds shouting, the crack of CRS gas-canisters, the brittle, thrilling sound of breaking glass, the sudden ragged bursts of cheering. And suddenly the idea of 'the Revolution' came to life in my head." This idea excited him as "something utterly new coming into being, some fresh, immense possibility of political life, a new community of hope."<sup>3</sup>

In Paris at the end of May, Holmes was leaving the Place de la Sorbonne with an armful of pamphlets and leaflets when he was caught up in a sudden police sweep. He found himself pinned against the iron fence of the Cluny monastery with the barrel of an automatic rifle pushed against his chest. "I felt lonely, unheroic and unrevolutionary," he wrote. Meekly he whimpered, "Je suis anglais." The trooper paused, poked Holmes in the belly with his rifle, and responded in French, "Englishman, mind your own business, go home," adding with a roar, "Leave me the fuck alone!" Holmes saw this advice as a real challenge to his perspective: "If I were English, why indeed didn't I mind my own business and go home? I was a foreigner, an outsider." When confronted with the power of the state, he had sheepishly retreated behind his nationality rather than declare his international solidarity. Although challenged and chastened, Holmes stayed in Paris. Brooding on this encounter, he decided that he wanted to be there to make sense of what was happening among the young people who had gathered there; in particular, he wanted to understand why this new French revolution appealed to young Europeans just as its eighteenth-century predecessor had.<sup>4</sup>

The upheaval in May caused ordinary tourists to stay away from Paris in the

<sup>2</sup> Richard Holmes, *Footsteps: Adventures of a Romantic Biographer* (New York, 1985), 73–74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 74–75.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

spring and summer of 1968; at the same time, however, the number of young people traveling there reached a new record peak. Like Holmes, they had been drawn rather than repelled by the political tensions there.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, once Paris had calmed and Charles de Gaulle had successfully reasserted control, the young of Europe, including many from France, began traveling instead to Prague, which became the new destination for rebellious youthful camaraderie. They were all participating in a new cultural phenomenon, the mass mobility of Western European middle-class youth, which had emerged over the course of the 1960s. This mobility had been explicitly promoted by the nation-states of Western Europe after the Second World War as they sought through intergovernmental cooperation to promote international understanding among the younger generation as a means of postwar reconciliation. In some ways, these efforts were a cultural complement to the ongoing process of economic cooperation and integration. These communities of young travelers contributed to the ethos of integration through their familiarity with one another and their experiences with foreign places, peoples, and cultures. Most importantly, they came to see themselves as belonging to a transnational community of youth, a sense of identity that they recognized in one another through their personal relationships and the cultural practices of travel.

In the late 1960s, international youth movements, in the sense of both mobility and activism, crossed national borders repeatedly. Young people were increasingly viewing the world in international terms and participating in it in transnational ways. The iconic example, of course, is Che Guevara, the young Argentinean who fought for victory in Cuba before continuing the revolution in Bolivia. Rudi Dutschke was from East Germany but led the West German student movement; Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the face of the events of May in Paris, had German citizenship; and Tariq Ali, the prominent organizer in Britain, was from Pakistan. Young activists did not feel constrained by nationality and, like the more general emerging travel culture, sought to cross European borders freely. By the late 1960s, however, national governments in Western Europe were taking measures to prevent the free movement of youth in response to such political activities. Most famously, in May 1968, France tried to deny Cohn-Bendit's return to France from Germany, and later in June there was controversy in Britain, most prominently in Parliament, over his visit to appear on the BBC. Both events inspired further international protests by the young, who demanded free movement across national borders while expressing solidarity as an international age-based social group. These young people regarded themselves as a community with mutual interests and an interconnected well-being that was maintained through mobility.

As a cultural practice, travel had become fundamental to the internationalism of the postwar years, specifically for young Europeans. An alternative community was developing on the basis of informal interchanges and transnational cooperation. These international cultural relations were outside the framework of national diplomacy, although they had often been facilitated by intergovernmental cooperation and subsidy.<sup>6</sup> In 1968, young travelers sought, both intentionally and unintentionally, to use this cultural internationalism to reformulate the relationship of European

<sup>5</sup> Jean Ginier, *Les touristes étrangers en France pendant l'été* (Paris, 1969), 297.

<sup>6</sup> For a history of cultural internationalism, see Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World*



states to each other and to their citizens. This movement of the young that culminated in 1968 helped lay the cultural foundation for the transformation of the Common Market into the European Community and its subsequent expansion.

IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, reconstruction camps and projects, exchange programs, and hostel networks were organized in Western Europe to facilitate travel by the young for the purpose of promoting international understanding and cooperation among populations who had been engaged in brutal and repeated warfare. Western European governments invested significant resources to welcome young travelers from abroad through the establishment, expansion, and transformation of their national youth hostel networks, shifting the focus away from domestic and toward international travel. By the 1960s, there was a significant transition in the programmatic emphasis on hosteling. The young people of Europe were now encouraged to travel abroad, to visit other nations and meet and interact with other nationalities, a marked contrast to the nationalism with which many hostel networks had been founded in the 1920s and 1930s. Further, in December 1961, the Council of Europe agreed to relax passport controls for anyone under the age of twenty-one as a way to further and facilitate travel by young people between the countries of Western Europe. This measure had been pushed by the Common Market countries, the Europe of the Six (France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Italy), who were promoting travel, particularly by the young, as a means of integration.<sup>7</sup>

Yet this form of independent travel by the young and the culture they carried with them was often characterized primarily by what Holmes termed a "challenge to conventions and structures of authority." Holmes described the 1960s traveling culture as marked by a "tone of confrontation, which took place daily, whether in the matter of clothes, art, sexual morality, religious piety, or politics. Such confrontation was international: the counter-culture took on the road and passed all frontiers, entered all cities."<sup>8</sup> In the years leading up to 1968, there was an intersection between the emergent international youth culture, travel, and an attitude of oppositional rebellion.

Likewise, many 1968 activists came to develop a critical awareness of their societies through travel and by interacting with foreign youth. British feminist Hilary Wainwright found that the time she spent in Portugal as a teenager in the mid-1960s had radicalized her sense of politics and her conceptualization of the world as being more than just Britain, in part through meeting and befriending Portuguese young people living under António de Oliveira Salazar's dictatorship.<sup>9</sup> The young New Left activists in West Germany consistently attributed their development of a sense of *Weltoffenheit*, or openness to the world, to their travels and interpersonal transna-

*Order* (Baltimore, 1997); for a focus on the post-1945 era, see Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Council of Europe, "European Agreement on Travel by Young Persons on Collective Passports between the Member Countries of the Council of Europe," *European Treaty Series* 37 (1962): 2.

<sup>8</sup> Holmes, *Footsteps*, 76.

<sup>9</sup> Fraser et al., 1968, 81.

tional connections, believing that this contributed directly to their politicization in the 1960s.<sup>10</sup> As another observer proclaimed about the impact of youth travel on the politics of 1968, "More or less spontaneously, youth had become an Internationale!"<sup>11</sup>

Joe Mack, an American college student who was hitchhiking through Europe in the summer of 1968, said that in every youth hostel he visited, "talking politics was what young people did." As Mack traveled around, not only did people talk politics, but they also interrogated him on where he had been, what he had seen, and what he had done. In August, while hitchhiking in Sweden and Denmark, he was repeatedly questioned about Prague, which he had visited in July. When he arrived in Copenhagen in mid-August, the hostel there was abuzz with news, rumor, and gossip about the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.<sup>12</sup> For anyone who was young and traveling in Western Europe in 1968, it was hard to avoid politics, even outside the major centers of protest, because not only were young individuals being politicized through travel, but the very places and practices of youth travel, such as hostels and hitchhiking, had become politicized spaces and politicized activities. Traveling was a way to share political news and political opinion, even if not direct political participation.

Toward the end of May 1968, the *Times* of London ran a series of articles on the international youth rebellions. While the *Times* had been unable to find any evidence of an organized conspiracy, it did recognize a remarkable phenomenon at work: "National frontiers mean less than generational frontiers nowadays." This sense of collective identity and purpose inspired a great deal of "cross-pollination" as young people visited each other, swapped books and ideas, corresponded, and organized demonstrations of mutual support. The article noted the continual traffic in exchange students over the 1960s as having particularly facilitated the movement. It went on to point out the prominent role played by Germans in the Grosvenor Square demonstration in London of March 17, the large numbers of British and German youth who had gone to Paris in May, the Americans present throughout Western Europe, and the efforts of Italian students to foster relations everywhere, with Italian contingents having demonstrated in Berlin in April and in Paris in May. "European student leaders now believe that international cooperation is important. Contacts and visits are becoming steadily more frequent and systematic," the *Times* noted with some concern.<sup>13</sup> These interpersonal political contacts were not only European, of course, but transatlantic, as many European activists had traveled westward and Americans eastward throughout the 1960s.<sup>14</sup>

Astounded by the scale of events in Paris, Americans Barbara and John Ehrenreich decided to leave graduate school in early May and cross the Atlantic to Paris to try to make sense of what was happening there. They continued their travels around Western Europe that summer, and wherever they went, they met other for-

<sup>10</sup> Belinda Davis, "A Whole World Opening Up: Transcultural Contact, Difference, and the Politicization of the New Left," in Davis et al., *Changing the World, Changing Oneself*, 431–464.

<sup>11</sup> Ginier, *Les touristes étrangers*, 380.

<sup>12</sup> Joe Mack, *1968 and I'm Hitchhiking through Europe* (Philadelphia, 2005), 71–89, 99–100, 244–260.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Davy, "Mutual Inspiration but No International Conspiracy," *Times*, May 30, 1968, 4.

<sup>14</sup> See Klimke, *The "Other" Alliance*, for specific political connections between the United States and West Germany; for how New Left advocates traveled around the United States to expand their reach, see Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York, 1998).

eign young people, Americans, British, Dutch, French, Germans, and Italians, who were all seeking to experience, understand, and participate in this international movement of youth. According to the Ehrenreichs, a “migrant” youth culture developed in 1968 as young people “traveled to Paris, Munich, Florence, or London, moving in the new underground of escaped students.”<sup>15</sup>

The Ehrenreichs’ description of these travels as a migration is indicative of the larger global migration into Europe at the time. Indeed, the massive influx of immigrants into Western Europe provided the backdrop against which the youth movements would be understood. The distinctions are important, however, because on the one hand we have the migration of mostly non-white, non-European poor for economic reasons, while on the other hand we have the travels of mostly white Western European middle-class young people for political reasons. The economic boom and interventionist welfare states of the postwar period had led to a substantial broadening of the middle classes and an exponential increase in the number of university students in the 1960s. Meanwhile, the category of “youth” itself had become an ideological site of power and an object of political, economic, and cultural interest in the wake of the postwar baby boom. Young people, more numerous than ever before and now part of the social body of “youth,” had been empowered.<sup>16</sup> Where the Ehrenreichs saw a “new underground” of mobility made up of “students” who had “escaped” the sedentary constrictions of university life, others saw the emergence of a revolutionary and international social class.

Jerome Férrând specifically attributed the events of 1968 to the formation of “youth” as a new international social class, or as he described it, “the new Third Estate, who were nothing and became everything.” He ascribed this development to the expansion of transportation, travel, and communication, so that “behavior overflows frontiers and forms a specific civilization extending to millions of young people.” He claimed that “their tastes and customs tend to unify them on a worldwide scale; young people today form a vast, coherent mass that is definitively a social class.” Moreover, this class was “conscious of having goals, a role to play, and an incontestable power.”<sup>17</sup> Although Férrând—and there were many others like him—exaggerated the future role of youth as a revolutionary social class, the new Third Estate or Proletariat, he was not off base in claiming that the formation of this new youth culture and its internationalist attitude had been facilitated by travel. In August 1968, a young Danish woman asserted that because young middle-class Europeans were now regularly visiting each other’s countries, “today students feel more European than Danish, German, or French.”<sup>18</sup>

The link between international travel and political citizenship had been at the forefront of state-led efforts to get the young of Western Europe to interact. Interestingly, a 1960 intergovernmental study of exchange programs and travel by European youth had concluded that

<sup>15</sup> Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich, *Long March, Short Spring: The Student Uprising at Home and Abroad* (New York, 1969), 163.

<sup>16</sup> See Richard Ivan Jobs, *Riding the New Wave: Youth and the Rejuvenation of France after the Second World War* (Stanford, Calif., 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Jerome Férrând, *La Jeunesse, nouveau Tiers état* (Paris, 1968), 60, 61.

<sup>18</sup> Mack, *1968 and I’m Hitchhiking through Europe*, 275.

the final goal of exchange programmes is a learning process, the learning of an international role, which should exist in addition to or perhaps above the national role. We must also realize that we live in a world of many cultures, in a world in which a revolutionary change in our way of life has occurred through technology and industry. International understanding therefore is a question of attitude, it is the result of an education to a pluralistic view of the world, to intercultural understanding.<sup>19</sup>

Yet the report also concluded that "we must ask ourselves more critically whether our aims with respect to 'international understanding' and the methods which we apply to this end produce a readiness to political action on the part of the participants . . . The main goal should not be to educate to passive understanding, but to a readiness to take on political responsibility."<sup>20</sup> The report highlighted the fact that the increased emphasis on travel by the young was intended to do more than simply promote "international understanding"; the idea was for young people to use this understanding for "political action" to make them responsible citizens in a plural Europe. Yet the politicization and political action that resulted was not the benign citizenship these nation-states had envisioned.

THE DUTCH PROVO MOVEMENT IN MANY WAYS anticipated the cultural practices and political critiques that prevailed among the young protesters of 1968. From May 1965 to May 1967, a group of young people in Amsterdam who referred to themselves as Provos combined a novel mixture of art and politics with a dose of alternative youth culture to produce a political and cultural critique built on spectacle. The Provo movement began as simple acts of street theater at Spui Square and eventually grew into a full-blown political movement with a newspaper that reached a circulation of 20,000. The Provos adopted white as their color of "provocation," wearing white clothes, issuing what they called "White Plans," and even proposing that central Amsterdam be closed to traffic, with white bicycles to be provided for free use. Most famously, in March 1966, they set off a series of white smoke bombs during the Dutch royal wedding cortege, creating a wild, chaotic scene. By June of that year, they even managed to get one of their leaders elected to the Amsterdam City Council.

Through the international publicity they generated with their outrageous stunts and the violent police crackdowns that often followed, the Provos became the darlings of European youth. Young nonconformists were enthralled by the excitement and activity that surrounded the Provos, and thousands of letters and visitors poured into Amsterdam from all over Western Europe and beyond. Traveling to Amsterdam was becoming characteristic of international youth culture generally, and those who came had the opportunity to mingle not only with the Dutch Provos, but with each other as well. In fact, in the summer of 1966, the Dutch tourism board encouraged the young of Europe to come to Amsterdam with a promotional campaign that pro-

<sup>19</sup> This was a conference of twenty-eight representatives from twelve countries, including ten from Europe. Although there were participants from elsewhere, the papers were focused on the experience of Western Europe. UNESCO Youth Institute, *An Analysis of the Impact of International Travel and Exchange Programmes on Young People: Report of a Study Seminar, May 9-13, 1960* (Gauting/Munich, 1960), 33.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 32.

claimed "Meet the Provos!"<sup>21</sup> By the spring of 1967, the number of young Europeans loitering in Amsterdam's Central Station led authorities to sweep through and close the main hall to all but "genuine" travelers.<sup>22</sup> Although there were only a few dozen core Provos, thousands of young European supporters floated in and out of Amsterdam, each staying an average of three weeks.<sup>23</sup> *Le Figaro littéraire* lamented that "there exists in Western Europe a new place of pilgrimage: Karthuizerstraat in Amsterdam. The pilgrims come from Scandinavia, Germany, England, France, and even the United States. They are angry young people who have come to learn the latest techniques and perspectives of a new type of subversion."<sup>24</sup> It is true that in the summer of 1966, many French young people, particularly in Paris and Strasbourg, had become fascinated by the Dutch Provos and their calls for an international "provotariat." A number of them went to Amsterdam to see, listen to, learn from, and experience an international youth movement that had declared itself to be revolutionary. A magazine article warned that young French people were going to Amsterdam out of a desire not just to see the Provos, but to identify with them, to become Provos. It was, in their words, a "contagion" that was spreading to France through the mobility of the young.<sup>25</sup> Thus a circuit was developing in the late 1960s involving like-minded young people who were traveling and visiting one another as part of an international youth culture, and it was becoming politicized. They were not simply being inspired by one another; they were actually seeking each other out.

By early 1968, Germany seemed to be the place where student activism was the most promising, the most radical, and the most effective. Young people came from all over Western Europe to meet and learn from the militant German SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund), particularly in the wake of the massive Berlin Vietnam Conference in February. After the rapid escalation of events in early May, however, Paris became the destination of choice, including for young Germans. A vanload of Germans with radical leaflets were turned away by French border police at Strasbourg on May 7; a week later, two members of the German SDS rallied a large crowd at the Sorbonne.<sup>26</sup> Overall, there were a significant number of Germans in Paris. Some were hardcore revolutionaries from the SDS, but most had come out of curiosity once the events were under way.<sup>27</sup>

Young people from all over Europe were drawn to the events in Paris that spring, much as Europeans from abroad had been drawn to Paris during the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, and as the revolutions of 1848 had inspired

<sup>21</sup> Nicolas Pas, "Images d'une révolte ludique: Le mouvement néerlandais Provo en France dans les années soixante," *Revue historique* 129 (2005): 368; for a more thorough account of the Provos, see Niek Pas, *Imaazje! De verbeelding van Provo (1965-1967)* (Amsterdam, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> "Dutch Sailors Throw Out 'Provos,'" *Times*, April 6, 1967, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Niek Pas, "Subcultural Movements: The Provos," in Klimke and Scharloth, *1968 in Europe*, 14.

<sup>24</sup> Jacques Dalny, "Les 'Provos' n'ont rien inventé," *Le Figaro littéraire* 4 (August 1966): 1.

<sup>25</sup> Georges Belmont and Evelyne Sullerot, "Le mouvement 'Provo' gagne la France," *Arts et Loisirs*, July 6-12, 1966, 8.

<sup>26</sup> Daniel A. Gordon, "Immigrants and the New Left in France, 1968-1971" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sussex, 2001), 108.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel Gordon has pointed out the prominence of Germans, both SDSers and others, in Paris. Rather than seeing a conspiracy, however, he notes that most were simply eager to get to France only after the events broke out. *Ibid.*, 135-137.



Giuseppe Mazzini's "Young Europe" movement.<sup>28</sup> As a young William Wordsworth, who had traveled to Paris in July 1790, wrote,

'Twas a time when Europe was rejoiced,  
France standing at the top of golden hours  
And human nature seeming born again.  
Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was very heaven!<sup>29</sup>

A vanload of young Belgian radicals from Leuven came to Paris to share their recent experiences regarding how to deal with institutions and police.<sup>30</sup> Dozens of Roman students visited Nanterre and invited their French compatriots back to Rome.<sup>31</sup> In the middle of May, twenty-year-old Ron Hijman sat with four friends, one of them an attractive young nurse, drinking in a pub in Amsterdam. They were excitedly discussing the events in Paris, and "within an hour we decided, the five of us, to go that same night to Paris. Why? Thrilling senses; young and wild; all of us in love with the nurse?" They dashed home to get their passports and drove for hours through the night crammed into a small Renault, with Hijman strategically squeezed into the back seat beside the warm body of the nurse. They managed to talk their way through border control, arriving in Paris at dawn, where they stayed three days.<sup>32</sup> As the events in Paris had escalated, they wanted to join the other young Europeans who were already gathered there. Some, including Ika Meulman-Sorgdrager from Haarlem, were travelers who simply happened to be in Paris when the events broke out.<sup>33</sup> Western Europeans in general were very well represented. They had come to identify with other young people regardless of borders, emphasizing what the *Times* had called "generational frontiers" over the traditional "national frontiers."<sup>34</sup>

Thus, there were mutual efforts by young people to move back and forth between European protest sites throughout 1968. The hope was that they could help invigorate each other's local movements through transnational mobility—if not by participating fully, then at least by witnessing and expressing support. As travel had become a fundamental aspect of the new European youth culture, so it was fundamental to the youth political movements of 1968 and their transnational, even Europeanist, sensibility. The events of May–June inspired travel not only to Paris, but from it as well.

JUST AS THE EARLY MODERN GRAND TOUR of the aristocratic young had been as much about visiting and identifying with other people as it was about seeing other places, travel by middle-class youth in 1968 functioned as part of a collective identity across Europe based on age and politics. Young people were traveling specifically to meet

<sup>28</sup> See the essays in the two-volume special issue "Voyage et Révolution," *Biblioteca del Viaggio in Italia* 43–44 (1992).

<sup>29</sup> "The Prelude," in William Wordsworth, *Wordsworth: Poetry and Prose* (Cambridge, 1963), 367.

<sup>30</sup> Horn, *The Spirit of '68*, 74.

<sup>31</sup> "Rome: La visite d'étudiants de Nanterre prélude à une relance des manifestations," *Le monde*, May 31, 1968, 12.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Ron Hijman, August 2007.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Ika Meulman-Sorgdrager, August 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Davy, "Mutual Inspiration but No International Conspiracy."

one another rather than to visit a particular location; destinations were determined by activism more than tourism. And just as the traditional Grand Tour preceded the rise of the modern nation-state, the Grand Tours of 1968 challenged the nation-state by anticipating its decline.

The travels of one particular young man, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, became the concern of multiple governments and inspired transnational protests featuring thousands of young people. Because like-minded youth across Western Europe were following the events in Paris quite closely, and because Dany Cohn-Bendit had become the face of May, he was invited to speak at several campuses and meetings around Western Europe. Feeling that he was at a bit of an impasse in Paris, Cohn-Bendit decided to accept these offers to explore the international solidarity of 1968, while also, he later admitted, indulging his new celebrity. But his Grand Tour across the frontiers and borders of Western Europe proved problematic, as several nations considered free movement by the young to have become threatening, particularly when it involved someone such as Cohn-Bendit. Notably, both the radical youth and the nation-states of Western Europe recognized that the movements of 1968 were not contained within national borders; like the young themselves, the ideas of revolt and the sense of solidarity were traveling freely.<sup>35</sup> Thus, governments sought to curtail such mobility. Cohn-Bendit's first scheduled destination on his Grand Tour was Brussels, but the Belgian government barred him from entering the city on May 22, for fear that he might inspire further revolt there.<sup>36</sup>

Cohn-Bendit then traveled to Berlin instead, where he spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of a few thousand people before heading to Amsterdam in the company of some members of the German SDS. After he had arrived in Amsterdam, on May 23, the French government announced that he was now considered an "undesirable" in France, and that he would be turned back at the border if he tried to return.<sup>37</sup> That night, thousands of protesters in Paris demanded "Cohn-Bendit à Paris!" as they marched from the Latin Quarter to the National Assembly.<sup>38</sup> In Amsterdam, meanwhile, Cohn-Bendit announced that he was determined to return to France to continue the struggle, viewing it as his "duty."<sup>39</sup> He gave a speech in a large cinema, after which his audience swarmed the University of Amsterdam's campus and occupied several buildings—exactly the kind of behavior that government officials had feared he would inspire wherever he went.

French and German students gathered together at their shared border to protest France's refusal to let Cohn-Bendit return. His interdiction had united them in a way that enabled them to express their own sense of common identity. In fact, one coalition announced that it intended to march en masse and escort Cohn-Bendit across

<sup>35</sup> For a genealogy of how Marxist ideas circulated, see Michel Trebitsch, "Voyages autour de la révolution: Les circulations de la pensée critique de 1956 à 1968," in Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand et al., eds., *Les années 68: Le temps de la contestation* (Paris, 2000), 69–88.

<sup>36</sup> "M. Cohn-Bendit se voit interdire l'entrée du territoire Belge," *Le monde*, May 22, 1968, 7.

<sup>37</sup> In fact, as early as March, Roger Peyrefitte had wanted to expel Cohn-Bendit, but Interior Minister Christian Fouchet refused on grounds of university privilege and the possibility of exacerbating the situation at Nanterre. See Michael Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968* (New York, 2004), 74.

<sup>38</sup> "À l'interdiction de séjour de M. Cohn-Bendit," *Le monde*, May 24, 1968, 5.

<sup>39</sup> "Le leader du mouvement du 22 mars ne rencontre guère de succès à Amsterdam," *Le monde*, May 24, 1968, 5.

the Pont d'Europe connecting Kehl with Strasbourg; if necessary, they said, they would "seize" the bridge.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile, Cohn-Bendit announced his intention to cross the border the following day, Friday, May 25. Members of the German SDS said they would accompany him, and Karl Dietrich Wolff, their leader, declared, "We will not let the friendship between French and German youth be hindered and destroyed by authoritarian governments and their means of power!"<sup>41</sup> He challenged the authority of nation-states to use their borders as a means of inclusion and exclusion, particularly with regard to the young.

In the end, a thousand students from Saarbrücken University escorted Cohn-Bendit to the border at Forbach in the Saarland, where he officially presented himself at the Brême-d'Or customs house with a bouquet of yellow forsythia and a battered German passport. He was taken to the local prefect, who presented him with his official expulsion form, which he refused to sign.<sup>42</sup> He was in France for all of ninety minutes. Security had been tightened, and riot police, mounted police, and canine patrols were stationed along the entire French border, encouraged in their work by local veterans who had come out to protest against Cohn-Bendit. In fact, there had already been an increase in border controls all along France's eastern frontier, with a stringent application of identity controls to prohibit the entry of "provocateurs," who, unsurprisingly, were profiled primarily by their age.<sup>43</sup>

Given the ease with which Cohn-Bendit later slipped into France clandestinely, this public display at Forbach seems an obviously symbolic act, intended to undermine the nation-state's emphasis of power and control over its borders and frontiers, as if a nation were a fortress.<sup>44</sup> After he had publicly presented himself at the border station to be officially rebuked by the state, his appearance days later in Paris heightened the artificiality of national borders and the inability of governments to maintain them effectively. Specifically, he mocked the Franco-German border, the very landscape where millions of French and Germans had died in the past century fighting for meager territorial gains along the most heavily fortified section of France's frontier. Compounding the symbolism, of course, was Cohn-Bendit's own Franco-German transnationality and his personal history of moving freely between the two nations.

Late in the evening of May 28, a young man with dyed jet-black hair and dark sunglasses mounted the rostrum at the Sorbonne. He stood there for a few moments with no reaction from the crowd. He removed his glasses, and "after a few seconds there was a tremendous ovation. People were standing and shouting 'Les frontières on s'en fout!'" As the crowd gradually recognized Cohn-Bendit, a repeated chorus of "Fuck all frontiers!" grew in strength and volume.<sup>45</sup> He declared to them, "I am

<sup>40</sup> "M. Cohn-Bendit est soutenu par des étudiants allemands et français," *Le monde*, May 25, 1968, 4; and "One Day in the Students' Revolt," *Times*, May 24, 1968, 10.

<sup>41</sup> "M. Cohn-Bendit est soutenu par des étudiants allemands et français"; "One Day in the Students' Revolt."

<sup>42</sup> Michael Hornsby, "Cohn-Bendit Refused Entry," *Times*, May 25, 1968, 1.

<sup>43</sup> "M. Cohn-Bendit est soutenu par des étudiants allemands et français," 4.

<sup>44</sup> For more on fortified French frontiers, see Roxanne Panchasi, "'Fortress France': Protecting the Nation and Its Bodies, 1918–1940," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 33 (2007): 475–504.

<sup>45</sup> Fraser et al., 1968, 226.



FIGURE 1: "Cohn-Bendit Will Pass" suggests the inability of the Gaullist state to police its borders.

not a foreign agent, but I am an international revolutionary," emphasizing that being "international" was not the same as being "foreign."<sup>46</sup>

Soon after his triumphant, if brief, return to Paris, Cohn-Bendit was invited to London by the BBC to participate in a televised roundtable. To be titled "Students in Revolt," it would include twelve student leaders from around the world. The pro-

<sup>46</sup> "Le reaparition de Daniel Cohn-Bendit à Paris," *Le monde*, May 30, 1968, 8.

gram nearly did not air, as British immigration attempted to keep the young radicals out. Cohn-Bendit arrived on June 11 and was almost sent back to Frankfurt on the next plane by the immigration office at Heathrow.<sup>47</sup> James Callaghan, the Home secretary, interceded on behalf of the BBC and its invited guests. In the end, Cohn-Bendit was granted a two-week visa, which he used to travel in the UK and attend rallies at the London School of Economics (LSE) and other campuses.

As news of the upcoming program and the arrival of the young radicals became known, there was a great brouhaha in the press decrying the fact that the BBC, without government approval, had invited young agitators and revolutionaries to London, where, many feared, they might incite further revolt. Both the House of Commons and the House of Lords debated the problematic and dangerous situation of having such young extremists in London, especially "Dany the Red." The opposition Tories even submitted a motion condemning the BBC for inviting foreign students to the UK to take part in the broadcast. The BBC received 750 letters, postcards, and telegrams and 700 phone calls of protest during and after the program, with only 70 letters of appreciation.<sup>48</sup> The letter writers were outraged that the BBC had run the risk of importing revolution across national borders by facilitating the travel of these young people. Many letters referred to them as "parasites," as if the movements of 1968 comprised some kind of invasive species that ought to be quarantined at national frontiers. Cohn-Bendit was mentioned frequently, which is not surprising since the BBC used his participation to promote the program, and he was easily the best-known and most recognizable of all the participants.

Robert McKenzie moderated the program, which lasted forty minutes. The participants expressed mutual sympathies, but they insisted that each of their movements was distinct and determined by local conditions, although there might be certain commonalities among them. Karl Dietrich Wolff did acknowledge a shared sense of solidarity and the emergence of a new kind of "Internationale." At the same time, Dragana Stavijel from Yugoslavia noted that this was the first time that they had all met, and it was only because of the BBC. There was no conspiracy, she insisted, and no organized movement. In the end, the conversation was congenial, if a bit dull and dominated by the conventions of Marxist rhetoric. As the *Daily Telegraph* wrote after the program, "If this is revolution, one felt, it ought to be made of sterner stuff."<sup>49</sup>

Cohn-Bendit also appeared alone on the BBC interview program *24 Hours* with Michael Barratt. During the interview, he compared the situation in France to 1940, when de Gaulle was determined to fight the authoritarian fascism of Philippe Pétain even from exile abroad. Barratt retorted, "But apart from the other obvious differences, there is one very crucial difference between de Gaulle and Dany, isn't there? He was a Frenchman. That's pretty crucial. And you are not." Cohn-Bendit responded, "Well, put it this way. I am born in France . . . I live in France, so I am in French politics. And I think the most important thing that we had in France in

<sup>47</sup> Students in Revolt File, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham, Berkshire, T32/1934.

<sup>48</sup> Student Unrest and Demonstrations 1968, BBC Written Archives Centre, R78/694/1.

<sup>49</sup> Windsor Davies, "Red-Eyed Maniac Fear Dispelled," *Daily Telegraph*, June 14, 1968.



the last days, was the demonstration in the Gare de Lyon where sixty to seventy thousand young people chant[ed] 'We are all German Jews.'<sup>50</sup>

This emphasis on Cohn-Bendit's nationality is an important one. The BBC itself had emphasized nationality in organizing the panel for "Students in Revolt," inviting one participant each from Belgium, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Japan, Spain, the United States, and Yugoslavia, and two each from France and Germany. Noting this, one viewer wrote in to ask, "Were there any English students present? I do not regard Mr. Tarqui [sic] Ali as a representative English student."<sup>51</sup> Indeed, Ali's Pakistani nationality was problematic, like Cohn-Bendit's German citizenship. Over the summer of 1968, as Ali became increasingly visible as a leader in England, the blatant racism of the tabloid press and various MPs inspired a large crowd at LSE to chant in support of him, "We are all foreign scum! We are all foreign scum!"<sup>52</sup>

In contrast to England, where Ali's foreignness was obvious because of his name, his accent, and his face, in France the public could be excused for not realizing that Cohn-Bendit was technically German, since he came off as so, well, French in his interviews and public appearances. When it was announced that he was not being allowed to return to France, *Le monde* made sure to emphasize that his nationality was, in fact, German, recognizing that the French public might be confused on this point.<sup>53</sup> Of course, Cohn-Bendit had spent the bulk of his life, all but three years, in France; that was where he had grown up and gone to school. His national citizenship was thus rather complicated.

Born in Montauban, France, in 1945, the son of German Jewish refugees, Cohn-Bendit described himself as having been for the most part "stateless" since birth, a fact that France's 1968 rejection of him had confirmed for him. Although his older brother had French citizenship, in 1959 Dany chose to adopt German citizenship, an option open to him as the child of Jewish refugees, for the purpose of escaping mandatory French military service.<sup>54</sup> His decision to be "German" was a strategic rather than a nationalistic choice. As he said, he did not give "a damn about nationality."<sup>55</sup> He later wrote, "Neither French nor German, I am a bastard." This kind of wordplay was typical of Cohn-Bendit; the term *bâtard* means not only illegitimate but, importantly, ill-defined and hybrid as well. "I proclaim my transnationality with pride," he wrote.<sup>56</sup> His refusal to subscribe to a national identity placed him in marked contrast to those who wanted to emphasize it.

Indeed, others repeatedly insisted on his foreignness, his alien status, and his German nationality. On the left wing, Georges Marchais of the French Communist Party (PCF) famously called Cohn-Bendit a "German anarchist." The PCF denounced him as a foreigner and stated that French workers did not need lessons from a "German Jew"—a double emphasis on his outsidership and alien nature. They claimed that he was an agent of an international network and thus a threat to the

<sup>50</sup> Extract from *24 Hours*, June 12, 1968, BBC Written Archives Centre, Talk Scripts 24 Hours.

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Harry Robinson, Students in Revolt File, BBC Written Archives Centre, T32/1934.

<sup>52</sup> Tariq Ali, *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties* (London, 2005), 303.

<sup>53</sup> "M. Cohn-Bendit fait l'objet d'une mesure d'interdiction en France," *Le monde*, May 23, 1968,

22.

<sup>54</sup> Dany Cohn-Bendit, *Nous l'avons tant aimée, la révolution* (Paris, 1986), 63.

<sup>55</sup> Fraser et al., 1968, 173.

<sup>56</sup> Cohn-Bendit, *Nous l'avons tant aimée*, 9.

French nation, ignoring the irony that the Communist Party was itself supposed to be both internationalist and revolutionary. The right wing, too, emphasized his Jewishness and Germanness. When the student protesters demanded "Cohn-Bendit à Paris!" after his expulsion, the right wing responded with "Cohn-Bendit à Dachau!" The nationalist politician Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancourt proclaimed that the French regime was being "overwhelmed by a young German fanatic."<sup>57</sup> Cohn-Bendit's Germanness was reemphasized by the press throughout its coverage in May. Even in the *Times* of London, he was usually referred to as "Herr Cohn-Bendit" when readers were not being reminded of his German nationality more explicitly. The debate in British Parliament on June 13 focused on Cohn-Bendit and his foreignness. MPs and Lords referred to him repeatedly as "this alien" or "this young foreigner" or "foreign student" or "German professional agitator." Yet while those in power used foreigners and outsiders to explain away the domestic upheavals of 1968, the young tended to embrace foreignness as an expression of their alienation from their own nation-states while also avowing solidarity with those being targeted by such attacks, specifically immigrants.

WHILE COHN-BENDIT WAS IN THE UK and Parliament was debating his presence there, French government officials announced three emergency measures on June 12 meant to curtail the ongoing events altogether, which in large part they did. In addition to announcing a ban on all demonstrations and outlawing leftist student organizations, the government publicly announced its intention to deport from France aliens who, it claimed, had disrupted public order and who were, as Interior Minister Marcellin insisted, part of an international revolutionary conspiracy.<sup>58</sup> By January 1969, more than 1,000 people had been deported, although most of them were not young European radicals but rather young foreign residents in France who had come as immigrant labor.<sup>59</sup> Foreign participation in the events was significant, particularly as May 1968 provided a platform to critique governments around the world, and most foreign protest by immigrants was aimed at their countries of origin.<sup>60</sup>

Media coverage of the events varied, but noting the presence of foreign nationals was clearly a priority. *Le Figaro*, in particular, exhibited a strong streak of xenophobia, making consistent reference to the numbers of foreign nationals who had been arrested on any given evening.<sup>61</sup> The proportion of foreigners who were detained is startling. During the events of May–June, more than 16 percent of arrestees were foreign nationals.<sup>62</sup> Not surprisingly, the police continually blamed the events

<sup>57</sup> As quoted in Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 222.

<sup>58</sup> Charles Hargrove, "De Gaulle Bans All Demonstrations," *Times*, June 12, 1968, 1. Germany was the only government that seems to have protested this measure. See "Plusieurs dizaines d'expulsions," *Le monde*, June 14, 1968, 2.

<sup>59</sup> For a detailed account of these expulsions, see chap. 4 in Gordon, "Immigrants and the New Left in France"; for more on France's use of political expulsion as a means of bolstering the nation-state, see Daniel A. Gordon, "The Back Door of the Nation State: Expulsions of Foreigners and Continuity in Twentieth-Century France," *Past and Present* 186 (2005): 201–232.

<sup>60</sup> Gordon, "Immigrants and the New Left in France," 30–45.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 111–115.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 130. There is some evidence that the police targeted foreigners for arrest, so these numbers

in Paris on a conspiracy of foreign revolutionaries, as did de Gaulle in his influential speech of May 30.<sup>63</sup>

Emphasizing the sizable numbers of foreigners or non-students participating in demonstrations in France was a means to delegitimize the movement altogether. The same was true elsewhere, including London, where press reports anticipated an invasion of young foreign revolutionaries, and a later government report ascribed considerable responsibility to young American "missionaries of student protest."<sup>64</sup> In the wake of the Prague Spring, during the period known ominously as Normalization, a government narrative developed in Czechoslovakia that identified the whole episode as supposedly propagated by American hippies. The political menace of the Prague Spring was repeatedly shown to be "foreign" and "alien," and thus not native to Czechoslovakia. According to the new regime, this foreign insurrection had traveled to Czechoslovakia through the Western youth culture.<sup>65</sup> The whole episode had been partly a result of the mobility of the young, or so the government claimed.

After the French Communist Party denounced Cohn-Bendit as a German Jew in early May, thousands of protesters proclaimed through marching, shouting, and posters that "We are all Jews and Germans!" When it was announced that Cohn-Bendit had been barred from reentering France for being an undesirable alien, tens of thousands of protesters resumed marching, chanting new slogans such as "We are all undesirables!" "We are all foreigners!" "We are all aliens!"<sup>66</sup> And upon his clandestine return to Paris on May 28, their new mantra became "Fuck all frontiers!" and "Frontiers = Repression." (See Figures 2–5.)

These declarations—"We are all Jews and Germans," "We are all undesirables," "We are all aliens," "We are all foreign scum," "Fuck all frontiers"—were not only proclamations of solidarity with those who were seen as being persecuted, including poor immigrants facing discrimination, but also a repudiation of nationality and the nation-state in favor of internationalism or transnationality. In West Germany, too, activists had come to identify with the non-Germans in their midst as a means to further protest, even making foreign concerns their own.<sup>67</sup> Meanwhile, the nation-state's stakeholders, the MPs, ministers, and party leaders, repeatedly emphasized nationality and the integrity of national borders precisely as a means of defense against the internationalism through which the young were clearly seeking to challenge national sovereignty. Border controls, deportation, and xenophobic denunciation became the line of defense against international youth movements.<sup>68</sup>

This conflict over mobility, migration, and national borders was taking place in

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should not be taken as indicative of overall participation. For detailed numbers of arrests on a nightly basis, see 112–131.

<sup>63</sup> Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 243.

<sup>64</sup> See *Sun*, March 19, 1968, 16; *The Guardian*, June 13, 1968, 8; *Times*, September 5, 1968, 1; "Student Protest, 1968–69," 7, UK National Archives, Kew, FCO 68/128.

<sup>65</sup> Paulina Bren, "Looking West: Popular Culture and the Generation Gap in Communist Czechoslovakia, 1969–1989," in Luisa Passerini, ed., *Across the Atlantic: Cultural Exchanges between Europe and the United States* (Brussels, 2000), 301–302.

<sup>66</sup> "À l'interdiction de séjour de M. Cohn-Bendit," 5.

<sup>67</sup> Davis, "A Whole World Opening Up," 444–446.

<sup>68</sup> Even Francisco Franco and Georgios Papadopoulos in Spain and Greece, respectively, thought the origins of their student movements lay with foreign agitators. See Kostis Kornetis, "Spain and Greece," in Klimke and Scharloth, *1968 in Europe*, 260.



FIGURE 2: "We Are All Jews and Germans," declares this poster featuring the gleeful face of Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

the highly charged context of massive immigration into Europe. As a component of decolonization and the labor demands of the postwar economic boom of the 1960s, immigration was roiling Western Europe. The newcomers were arriving mostly from former colonies and were distinguishable by their racial, cultural, and religious background. Thus, the nation-states of Western Europe were already dealing with the phenomenon of migration into and across Europe, which appeared to many to be beyond control. Enoch Powell, a conservative MP, became infamous for his virulent anti-immigration politics in the UK, particularly his "rivers of blood" speech, which predicted oncoming racial conflict there. Significantly, this famous speech dates from April 1968. Hence, young people were not in motion across a stagnant, immobile Europe. Rather, the challenge of their political mobility heightened the tensions over the sovereignty of nation-states to police and control their borders. It is no surprise, then, that these nation-states relied upon xenophobia and threats of deportation as means of response. This global migration provided the vocabulary for talking about and dealing with the 1968 movements of youth; the borrowed formulations resonated.

The evolution of the concept and practice of the frontier is directly tied to the evolution of the sovereignty of the state.<sup>69</sup> While the frontier had been an expression of the limit of feudal power, in the modern period it became the linear demarcation of power and authority between nation-states. Thus "frontiers," as such, are weighted with history, an accumulation of past victories and defeats; they remain an expression in the present of past national struggles and serve as the legitimation of nation-state authority and power.<sup>70</sup> The multiplication and proliferation of national borders in twentieth-century Europe marked and was a result of the hyper-nationalism that had contributed to both world wars. The fortified and articulated frontier is one of the most apparent products of the modern nation-state, with its notion of individual inclusion and exclusion in the national body. We thus have the emphasis of those in power on "foreignness" and the stricter application of border controls in 1968. Yet the modern nation-state's use of territoriality as a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling area begins to unravel at precisely this moment, most notably in Europe.<sup>71</sup> Thus, 1968 symbolically marks a turning point when the privileging of the national community for personal identification and the territorial authority of the nation-state were both under assault.<sup>72</sup>

MUCH HAS BEEN MADE OF THE INTERNATIONALISM of the 1968 movements. The primary focus has been the "Third-Worldism" of New Left activists in Europe and the United States, who looked to the developing world for inspiration amid postcolonial strug-

<sup>69</sup> Lucien Febvre, "Frontière: The Word and Concept," in Febvre, *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke, trans. K. Folca (New York, 1973), 213.

<sup>70</sup> See the essays on "Le territoire" in Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols., vol. 2: *La Nation* (Paris, 1986).

<sup>71</sup> This is the argument of Charles S. Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 807–831.

<sup>72</sup> Akira Iriye and Rana Mitter, "Foreword," in Klimke and Scharloth, *1968 in Europe*, vii.





FIGURE 3: The same image with a new message, "We Are All Undesirables," following France's refusal to let Cohn-Bendit return.

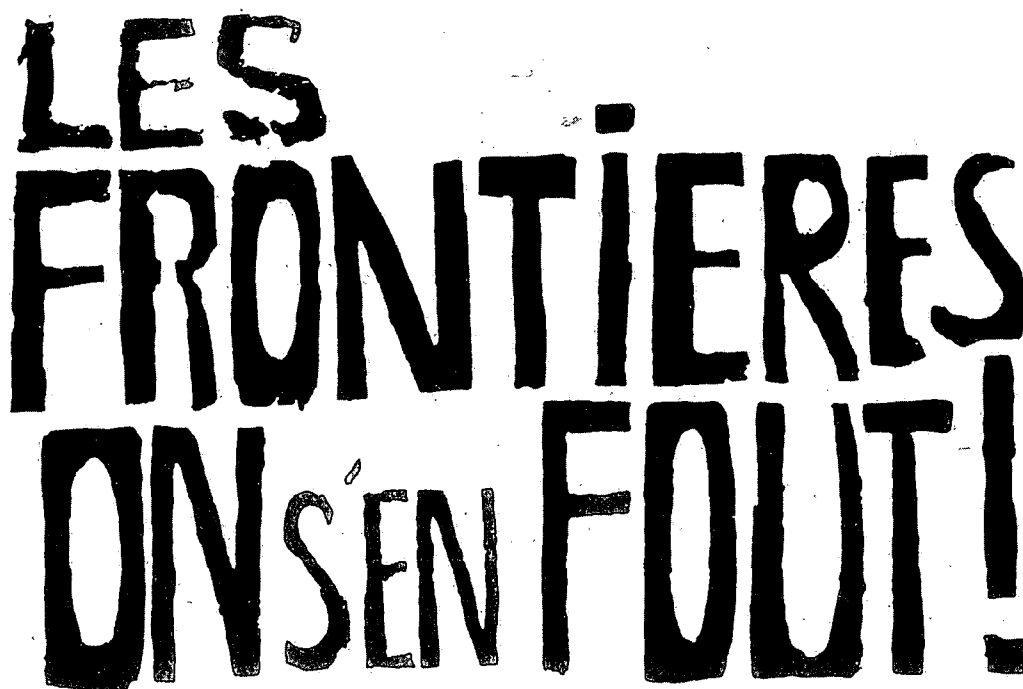


FIGURE 4: "Fuck All Frontiers!" The national border becomes a site and object of protest.

gles and revolution.<sup>73</sup> It has been well documented that Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Zedong, among others, were all considered heroes, while the war in Vietnam offered the most consistent target of protest.<sup>74</sup> Notably, internationalism and the encouraging of international solidarity between French and immigrant foreigners was the subject of two dozen posters in May–June. When the French government made its June 12 announcement that it would deport foreign nationals, French students were preparing to hold the first of a number of planned protest rallies in support of immigrant workers, whom they viewed as being persecuted. However, the rallies were effectively shut down by another of the June 12 decrees, which made all demonstrations illegal.<sup>75</sup> But we should not forget that for all the protests and rhetoric in support of the Third World or immigrant poor, 1968 remained predominantly Eurocentric.<sup>76</sup>

There was a distinctly European element to much of this internationalism. Slogans of European solidarity, such as "Rome, Berlin, Warsaw, Paris," began to appear as early as May 7. The radical newspaper *Black Dwarf* in London ran a cover story about Paris using the headline "We shall fight, We will win, Paris, London, Rome, Berlin," which indicated the underlying premise of solidarity across Western Europe,

<sup>73</sup> See, for example, Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, 2002); Gordon, "Immigrants and the New Left In France"; and Belinda Davis, "A Whole World Opening Up."

<sup>74</sup> See, for example, Robert Frank, "Imaginaire politique et figures symboliques internationales: Castro, Hô, Mao et le 'Che,'" in Dreyfus-Armand, *Les années 68*, 31–48; and Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand and Jacques Portes, "Les interactions internationales de la guerre du Viêt-nam et Mai 68," *ibid.*, 49–68.

<sup>75</sup> For more on this, see Gordon, "Immigrants and the New Left In France," 201–205.

<sup>76</sup> See Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York, 2005), 398.

and a sense of collective identity and purpose among young European protesters.<sup>77</sup> Even the U.S. State Department concluded that protests there were now "European in character" rather than nationally determined.<sup>78</sup> And yet this was more than just an expression of transnational solidarity; there was also a demand for the abolition of borders and frontiers, a confrontation with the very concept of nationality and the nation-state, with an enthusiastic appeal for European integration.

The integration of Europe and how 1968 was both affecting it and being affected by it was on the minds of many, particularly regarding border controls. During the parliamentary debates about Cohn-Bendit and the other young radicals, the MP Alfred Norris warned, "Speaking as one who is concerned for the future of Britain's application to join the Common Market, can my right honorable Friend give an assurance that any restriction on the free movement of our fellow West Europeans will not hurt our prospects as a prospective signatory of the Treaty of Rome?"<sup>79</sup> On Radio Luxembourg, Cohn-Bendit commented on his being barred from returning to France: "I don't see why today, when we speak of a Common Market, of international harmony, of peace, we expel someone from a country."<sup>80</sup> The evolving European integration was helping to frame the debates about his travels.

When German and French students banded together to protest and to escort Cohn-Bendit across the Franco-German border, the choice of location was intentional. As a stretch of territory heavily weighted with nationalist conflict, Alsace serves as a "memory frontier" for both France and Germany.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, France and Germany had been leading the movement for European integration, and the Pont d'Europe, which the students planned to seize for Cohn-Bendit's return, had been built in 1953 to acknowledge this endeavor and to emphasize the connections and bonds between these formerly belligerent nations. Thus, the young demonstrators were interested not only in defying the authority of nation-states to police their own borders but in expressing the transnational identity of their movement through their sense of common purpose and common identity across the Bridge of Europe.<sup>82</sup>

Throughout the events of 1968 in Paris, there was an ongoing demand for European integration by the young. In April, the Action Committee for the Independence of Europe issued a manifesto seeking a climate of peace, cooperation, and

<sup>77</sup> Although I would not claim that this demonstrates the emergence of a European polity, it does suggest that 1968 can be considered a significant development in the "Europeanization" of contentious politics; while still influenced largely by domestic concerns, the emphasis among some protesters of Europe was significant. See the work of Sidney Tarrow, especially "The Europeanisation of Conflict: Reflections from a Social Movement Perspective," *West European Politics* 18 (1995): 223–251; Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity* (Lanham, Md., 2001); and Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge, 2005). Also see the work of Donnatella della Porta, especially "1968—Zwischennationale Diffusion und Transnationale Strukturen," in Gilcher-Holtey, *1968*, 131–150.

<sup>78</sup> As quoted in Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, "1968 in Europe: An Introduction," in Klimke and Scharloth, *1968 in Europe*, 6. There was even a U.S. diplomatic conference held on the subject of European youth in revolt in Bonn in June 1969.

<sup>79</sup> Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons Official Report, vol. 766, no. 133, Thursday, June 13, 1968, 441.

<sup>80</sup> "M. Cohn-Bendit est soutenu par des étudiants allemands et français," 4.

<sup>81</sup> See Jean-Marie Mayeur, "Une mémoire-frontière: L'Alsace," in Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 2: 63–95.

<sup>82</sup> For more on how borders can serve as staging grounds for political protest, see Aitzpea Leizaola, "Mugarik ez! Subverting the Border in the Basque Country," *Ethnologia Europaea* 30 (2000): 35–46.

independence from American and Soviet influence. Citing the ongoing events in Prague, it called for expanding the Common Market eastward, to unite all of Europe into a single integrated community, independent of the superpowers.<sup>83</sup> A week after the Strasbourg protests, the Action Committee for Franco-German Solidarity in Paris declared that it was essential for the young of both countries to expand their political connections through youth exchange and travel programs. It added that the Youth Internationale had become a reality, and that the profound fraternity of the young would prove transformational and call into being a new kind of Europe.<sup>84</sup>

A tract from May, "What European Students Want," expressed solidarity with students in Tübingen, Heidelberg, Munich, Liège, Turin, and Rome and demanded the "definitive abolition of frontiers between European countries." Further, it stated a desire for a European parliament elected by direct suffrage, an increase in the powers of the Council of Ministers, and an expansion of the Common Market to include Great Britain and Scandinavia. Likewise, it said that students should be able to move freely between European universities in pursuit of their studies. In boldface type, it ended with the words "THE STUDENT REVOLUTION WILL BE EUROPEAN OR IT WILL NOT BE!"<sup>85</sup>

In early June, the Action Committee for the Abolition of Frontiers was formed to protest the closure of national borders to the young in response to the events of May. But, its young members said, "this effort will not succeed because the ideas of May 1968 cannot be stopped by a barrier or a cop. Young people cannot be stopped any more than ideas can." Thus, they demanded the abolition of frontiers and border controls for the free movement of people and ideas across Europe.<sup>86</sup> In a second tract from later in June, they declared, "We are all European" and "The revolution of the twentieth century will be European." Advocating the formation of a federal Europe, they added the slogan "The awakening of the university strikes the European hour!"<sup>87</sup> The rise of student activism across the continent, and the internationalist attitudes inherent to it, led them to hope for, and demand, a united Europe. To their mind, the first step toward this united Europe was to abolish the frontiers and border controls that were inhibiting youth movements. Borders represented not only lines of division but thresholds of passage; travel and mobility were fundamental to the Europe they envisioned for themselves.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> "Comité pour l'indépendance de l'Europe," in Bibliothèque nationale, *Les tracts de mai 1968: Guide to the Microform Collection* (Zug, 1986), doc. 4568.

<sup>84</sup> "Motion du Comité de Solidarité Franco-Allemande," *ibid.*, docs. 4544 and 4545.

<sup>85</sup> "Ce que veulent les étudiants européens," *ibid.*, doc. 3752.

<sup>86</sup> "C.A.A.F.," *ibid.*, doc. 4950.

<sup>87</sup> "Nous sommes tous européens," *ibid.*, doc. 4951.

<sup>88</sup> There were several other Parisian groups and action committees that expressed similar ideas, including the European Federalist Students, the European Federalist Youth, and the more established European Federalist Movement, which in June called on the young to work toward an integrated Europe that denied the lingering nationalism of the nation-state and the absurdity of borders. See "Appel à la jeunesse européenne," in Bibliothèque nationale, *Les tracts de mai 1968*, doc. 6805. The Committee for European University Federalism demanded a halt to French nationalism, the continued construction of Europe, the establishment of a United States of Europe, and the French ratification of the European Rights of Man. *Ibid.*, doc. 9681. Interestingly, there is a strong possibility that some of these tracts emerged from the extreme right rather than the left. That is, young right-wingers, like those on the New Left, saw 1968 as a revolutionary moment, and this was often articulated in terms that challenged the French state by demanding a united Europe of nationalist regimes. There were groups, such as Occident, that sought a revolutionary nationalist strategy to overthrow the Gaullist regime, but in the context of

# FRONTIERES = RÉPRESSION

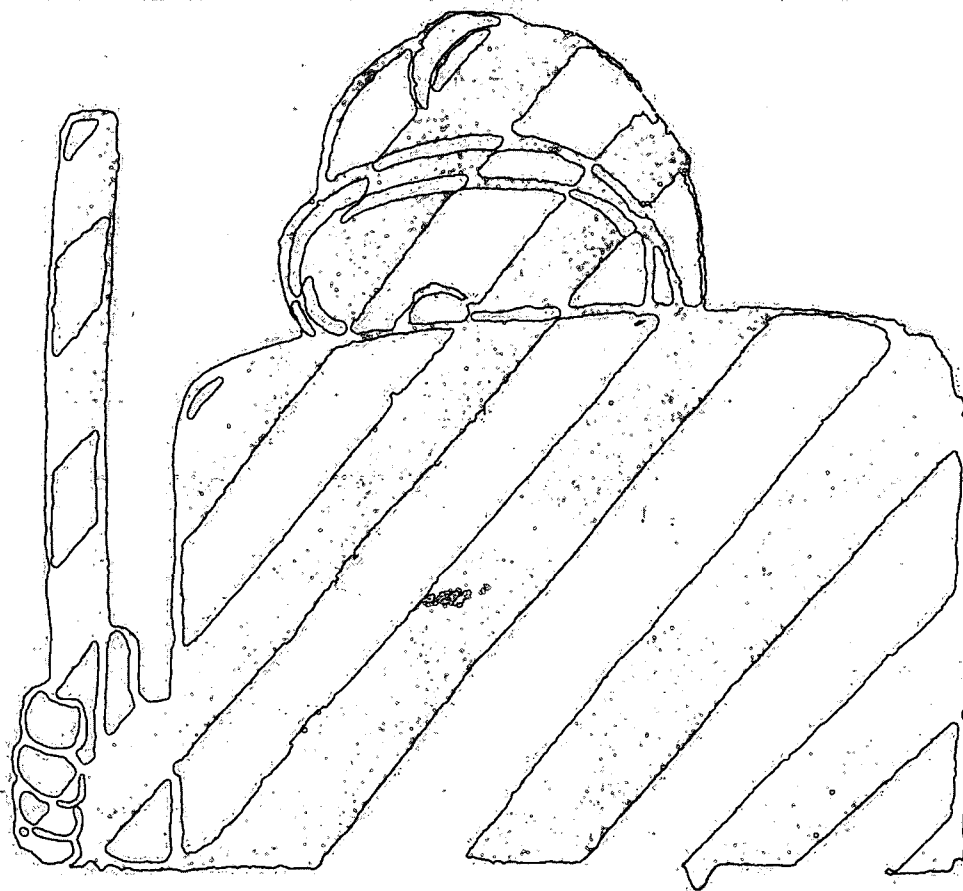


FIGURE 5: "Frontiers = Repression" emphasizes the state's use of force to hinder mobility, and by extension, freedom.



In early July, a feature editorial published simultaneously in multiple European newspapers by the Italian diplomat and Europeanist Mario Toscano argued that the moment had come for the European project to boldly move forward *because* of the events in France and beyond. The consistency of the 1968 crisis across Western Europe had shown how interconnected the nations of Europe had become since the Second World War. Asking to whom this revelation was owed, the author answered, "The young who look to each other across national borders." They reflected each other's subjective experiences despite nationality, "as if a single 'internationale' united them all." It would take European countries working together to solve problems jointly, to advance and progress. The events of 1968 showed how the problems extended beyond national borders. "The immediate construction of Europe has been revived, with no possibility of reversal, by the shake-up of these last weeks." He continued, "The great crisis of 1968 has brought the builders of Europe—the Europe of Six and the larger Europe—to their moment of truth."<sup>89</sup>

Indeed, the European project, as Toscano suggested, had stalled by 1968, but it was revived in 1969. It was the policies of de Gaulle, in particular, that had helped to slow integration in the late sixties, so among the Europeanist demands being made by the French young was an effort to reinvigorate the process that had been slowed by their own government. The renewed emphasis that followed came about particularly under the combined guidance of Georges Pompidou, who succeeded de Gaulle as president of France, and Willy Brandt, who succeeded Kurt Georg Kiesinger as chancellor of West Germany. As the domestic turmoil of the late 1960s encouraged the world's leaders to work together for Cold War détente as a means to better focus on their internal problems,<sup>90</sup> likewise in the wake of 1968 the governments of the European Community adopted a frequent and regular summit schedule to better coordinate their domestic policies and the concerns they held in common, leading to the optimistic "Spirit of the Hague" Europeanism that dominated the early 1970s. Indeed, it was at this moment that integrationists first began to discuss the need to develop "A People's Europe" and a European citizenship; culture and identity emerged for the first time as areas of policy in the economic and political aspirations of the European Commission.<sup>91</sup>

At the 1969 Hague summit, Pierre Werner, the prime minister of Luxembourg, spoke about the disgruntled young and their "quarrels about issues which . . . can admittedly be regarded as a form of European collaboration."<sup>92</sup> Italian prime minister Mariano Rumor urged his fellow heads of state to work toward further integration "using all the energies of our countries and responding to the rightful and vigilant impatience of youth, which today thinks and acts with a European mind."<sup>93</sup>

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a broader, proto-fascist New Europe. Thus, the political articulation inherent to these tracts resonates to some degree with the discourse of right-wing 1968 revolutionaries too. Either way, whether left or right, the challenge to the French nation-state in favor of a Europeanist paradigm is clear. See Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 336; more specifically, this is the subject of ongoing research by Todd Shepard, as yet unpublished.

<sup>89</sup> Mario Toscano, "La politique européenne à l'heure de la vérité," *Le monde*, July 6, 1968, 1, 7.

<sup>90</sup> This is the argument of Suri in *Power and Protest*.

<sup>91</sup> See Cris Shore, *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration* (London, 2000).

<sup>92</sup> "Address by Pierre Werner," *Bulletin of European Communities* 2 (1970): 47.

<sup>93</sup> "Address by Mariano Rumor," *ibid.*, 45.

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, in the midst of the May crisis, made a speech in London in which he advocated a deepening and broadening of the European project, which seemed to him "to be the only way to give the troubled youth of our continent the modern and vast ambition allowing it to devote its fiery strength to a positive task."<sup>94</sup> The protests of 1968 allowed Europeanists to justify further integration and inter-governmental cooperation as a means of dealing with transnational problems while at the same time they used the transnational nature of 1968 to declare an emergent European consciousness among the young, thus legitimizing their endeavors.

Meanwhile, the movement and protests of young Czechoslovaks in 1968 helped make them a part of a larger international and specifically European movement. They sought to break away from the influence of the Soviet Union and looked to the "Europe" of the West. For example, the sixth of the "Ten Commandments for a Young Czechoslovak Intellectual" read: "Don't think only as a Czech or a Slovak, think also like a European . . . You live in Europe; you don't live in America nor in the Soviet Union."<sup>95</sup> Caught between the superpower East and West, young people in Czechoslovakia tended to emphasize and identify with Western Europe for distinction in the Cold War context; they strove for a sense of unity through European-ness.

Indeed, once Paris had calmed in June, Prague became the new destination of choice for the young of Europe. In the mid-1960s, the Czechoslovak government had begun encouraging tourism to and from Western Europe. Young people from the West took advantage of these policies and began to travel to Prague. In the wake of the loosening of travel restrictions, there had been a distinct exchange of people and ideas as Western books, newspapers, and music became accessible to Czechoslovaks. Perhaps the most visible by-product of these policies, which had been pursued for currency and economic reasons, was the decidedly Western youth culture developed by young people in Prague, complete with music clubs, student activism, and a hippie counterculture.<sup>96</sup> Significantly, the many liberal rights and reforms demanded in the Manifesto of Prague Youth in March 1968, such as freedom of the press and freedom of association, included the freedom to travel, as if this, too, constituted the most fundamental of political rights for the Prague Spring.<sup>97</sup>

While cross-border travel in 1968 was becoming more difficult for the young in Western Europe, in Czechoslovakia the borders were opened. With unrestricted travel now possible, thousands of young people packed their bags and went abroad. Despite the excitement of what was happening in Prague, they seized the new opportunity for unfettered mobility.<sup>98</sup> One Prague activist predicted that with so many young Czechoslovaks traveling westward that summer, they would gain "new expe-

<sup>94</sup> Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, "Towards a European Confederation," Britain in Europe Meeting, May 7, 1968, 2, UK National Archives, FCO 13/405.

<sup>95</sup> As quoted in Paulina Bren, "1968 East and West: Visions of Political Change and Student Protest from across the Iron Curtain," in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, Md., 2004), 134 n. 23.

<sup>96</sup> Harry Schwartz, *Prague's 200 Days: The Struggle for Democracy in Czechoslovakia* (New York, 1969), 19, 26.

<sup>97</sup> Galia Golan, "Youth and Politics in Czechoslovakia," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (1970): 11.

<sup>98</sup> Some 300,000 Czechoslovaks visited the West during the spring and summer of 1968; see Alan Levy, *So Many Heroes* (Sagaponack, N.Y., 1972), 163.

riences with the student struggle," which would inspire further reform and protest in the coming autumn. He expected Prague youth, through travel, to gain experience, develop ideas, interact with the broader Western youth culture, and become a part of it and its transnational movement for social change.<sup>99</sup> The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in August impeded such further efforts, and many of the young consequently opted to remain abroad rather than return home.

Meanwhile, Prague was awash with young Europeans who had come in the summer of 1968 to express or experience an age-based solidarity that transcended national identity. In early August, the *New York Times* declared, "If you are under 30, Prague seems the place to be this summer," as the city was "thronged with young sympathizers from the West." Robert Engle, a Harvard Law School graduate who had been touring Europe on a skimpy budget since the previous fall, said that he hoped to "get a few ideas in Prague" about what kind of society he wanted to live in and what role he wanted to play. Monique Chaillot, a humanities student from the Sorbonne, had hitchhiked and taken trains across Europe with a girlfriend after de Gaulle's triumph in June. Disappointed with Paris, they had headed to Prague. "This is exactly what we wanted to do in Paris this spring," Monique enthused. She found herself "discussing endlessly with Czechoslovak students the various experiences each one [had] had during the last few months." Helmut Krone, a literature student from Hamburg, was excited about the youthful and international camaraderie he had found in Prague, where the young who had gathered there talked "about everything." The reporter noted how difficult it was to tell whether young people were Czech or foreign; clustered along the Charles Bridge with their long hair, beards, turtlenecks, and jeans, "they all look alike," he wrote. Thus, not only had the international youth culture come to Prague, but so had international youth: the revolutionary graffiti covering the city's medieval walls that summer was written in Czech, English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian.<sup>100</sup> Even after the August crackdown, young Westerners continued their journey to Prague. Immediately after the military invasion, Peter Tautfest spontaneously left Berlin with three friends and headed to Prague, where they spent a few days distributing leaflets, confronting Russians, and conveying their support.<sup>101</sup>

Michael Korda's experience in the Budapest uprising of 1956 offers an important contrast to Prague in 1968. In late October 1956, Korda, then twenty-three, left England for Hungary, because "if you wanted to be where the action was, Budapest was the place, not Uxbridge or Oxford." He had been inspired by the young Hungarians who were at the forefront of the revolt there. He and two friends took off across Europe on a road trip to revolution in a rusty old Volkswagen convertible. Using a *Baedeker* as a guide, they roamed around Budapest during the Soviet crackdown, helping little but offering a bit of international solidarity as they joined the young revolutionaries on the barricades.<sup>102</sup> But they did not encounter any other foreign youth who had crossed the open border to reach Budapest. This is a striking

<sup>99</sup> As quoted in Bren, "1968 East and West," 128.

<sup>100</sup> Paul Hoffman, "For Those under 30, Prague Seems the Right Place to Be This Summer," *New York Times*, August 12, 1968, 13.

<sup>101</sup> Fraser et al., *1968*, 266–267.

<sup>102</sup> Michael Korda, *Journey to a Revolution: A Personal Memoir and History of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956* (New York, 2006), 112.

contrast to the situation twelve years later in 1968, when the young of Western Europe rushed from protest to protest, including across the Iron Curtain to Prague. Something significant had changed in the span of a decade.

IN 1964, RICHARD HOLMES SET OFF FOR ADVENTURE in Europe after ten years of English boarding schools. "Free thought, free travel, free love" was what the eighteen-year-old wanted.<sup>103</sup> He associated mobility and travel with personal freedom, and this freedom was to be found within the emerging traveling culture of youth—the itinerant young who had begun to see themselves as a community, and often a specifically European one at that. Excited by the events of Paris in 1968, and particularly by the fact that young people from all over Western Europe were gathering there, Holmes ventured to Paris seeking to discover "something utterly new coming into being," something he described as a "new community."<sup>104</sup> A British student activist similarly concluded that a prime motivating factor in the London protests had been a search for community, for a personal inclusion generated by activism.<sup>105</sup> For young Germans who had a rather complicated relationship with their nationality, a sense of community could be sought abroad generationally and territorially among the other young of Europe.<sup>106</sup>

A *New York Times* reporter in Prague described the confluence of European youth there as a "pilgrimage," a term that brings to mind the work of anthropologist Victor Turner.<sup>107</sup> The experience of pilgrimage, according to Turner, puts travelers in a liminal space, one that is anti-hierarchical, democratic, and full of potential for transformation; they are "betwixt and between." Once in this liminal space, the pilgrims or travelers experience *communitas*, an intense and spontaneous community spirit of equality, fraternity, and solidarity generated by their marginality and flux, however temporary or fleeting it may be. Significantly, Turner saw *communitas* as subversive, as a challenge to the structures of authority, because it makes a reordering of relations between ideas and people both possible and desirable.<sup>108</sup>

Holmes and the others were literally part of a mass movement as the young interacted with one another through travel and protest in the late 1960s. Although in

<sup>103</sup> Holmes, *Footsteps*, 15.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 74–75.

<sup>105</sup> Crouch was a participant who then wrote a sociological thesis on the topic; see Colin Crouch, *The Student Revolt* (London, 1970).

<sup>106</sup> See Hanna Schissler, "Postnationality—Luxury of the Privileged? A West German Generational Perspective," *German Politics and Society* 15, no. 2 (1997): 8–27; and Alon Confino, "Traveling as a Culture of Remembrance: Traces of National Socialism in West Germany, 1945–1960," *History and Memory* 12, no. 2 (2000): 92–121.

<sup>107</sup> For a recent historical work that applies Turner's theories to travel, see Mark Rennella, *The Boston Cosmopolitans: International Travel and American Arts and Letters* (New York, 2008).

<sup>108</sup> See Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (London, 1978). See also Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London, 1969), and Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974). There has been a reluctance to use Turner's theory of *communitas* as applicable to young backpacker tourists because backpackers tend to remain quite self-absorbed and do not become "immersed" within the community. However, the travel I have traced here was specifically an expression of intentional solidarity, complete with activism and protest articulating it as such. See Erik Cohen, "Backpacking: Diversity and Change," in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, eds., *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon, 2004), 43–59.

experience and significance he is quite different from Daniel Cohn-Bendit, they share something important—a sense of community based on age and premised on transnational mobility—which helped to shape the political worldview of millions of young Europeans. As a figure of 1968, Cohn-Bendit traveled from Paris to Berlin to Amsterdam to Frankfurt to London and places in between to promote youth movements and mobility. And as his many supporters articulated, among the things they wanted to see reformed were the border and frontier controls that hindered their mobility.<sup>109</sup> Their sense of international identity was partially based upon transnational travel and a voluntary shared purpose that was experienced as a kind of transformative *communitas*. Meanwhile, those in power repeatedly emphasized nationality, foreignness, and the sanctity of borders and frontiers in response to the transnational aspirations of this young community. They rightly recognized that there was a fundamental challenge to the configuration of the nation-state implicit in the demands and activities of 1968, even if there was no organized conspiracy of revolution.<sup>110</sup>

So if there was no organized conspiracy, how can the breadth of transnational interaction in 1968 Europe be explained? It is not that the young of 1968 were simply inspired by one another; a cultural practice of travel existed in Europe that undergirded a sense of solidarity, common purpose, and common identity that facilitated revolt and collective action by the physical movement of young protesters from place to place, whether the destination was Amsterdam, Berlin, Paris, or Prague. As Europe, and the world, became more integrated in the decades following the Second World War, it became more politically turbulent, too, in part as a consequence of this growing interaction and interdependence.<sup>111</sup> The sovereignty of the nation-state was being challenged both by the physical movement of the young and by their international activities, particularly their desire for a more open and integrated Europe.

We should be careful not to dismiss this phenomenon as “revolutionary tourism”—a pejorative term that emerged in the era itself to dismiss as dilettantes those who came and went. Degrees of political commitment and militancy varied widely among the revolutionary youth of 1968. The mobile young, and their attendant polyvalent sympathies, are perhaps better described as “fellow travelers,” which invokes their mobility, politics, and communitarian sensibility. Although this term, too, is often used pejoratively, particularly in the United States, it seems more appropriate, because it was the informal political actors, as opposed to the militant leftist vanguard, who made these protest movements—in Paris or Prague or elsewhere—so

<sup>109</sup> Notably, Cohn-Bendit has remained politically active, becoming a Member of the European Parliament, and one of his issues has been to create a cosmopolitan Europe to replace the homogenous nation-state, especially regarding immigration policy. See Daniel Cohn-Bendit, “Europe and Its Borders: The Case for a Common Immigration Policy,” in Sadako Ogata et al., *Towards a Common Immigration Policy* (Brussels, 1993), 23–31; and Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Thomas Schmid, *Heimat Babylon: Das Wagnis der multikulturellen Demokratie* (Hamburg, 1992).

<sup>110</sup> This was even the conclusion of the CIA’s 1968 report “Restless Youth” prepared for President Lyndon Baines Johnson, who was convinced of a communist conspiracy. See Tom Hayden, “Afterword: Restless Youth,” in Klimke and Scharloth, *1968 in Europe*, 325.

<sup>111</sup> This is the argument of James N. Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity* (Princeton, N.J., 1990).



massive, involving millions of young people.<sup>112</sup> These youth movements do not fully explain 1968, of course, yet they are an important component that has remained unexplored. It resonates with the interrelated emergence of the transnational social body of youth, the cultural phenomenon of youth travel, and a leftist, cultural internationalism that was often expressed explicitly in terms of European integration. The internationalism of 1968 is usually viewed as at best ideological and at worst merely rhetorical, but the revolutionary exchange of young people across Europe shows that this internationalism was to some extent expressed as a communitarian cultural practice—one that would intersect and anticipate the institutional efforts of European integration in the years to come.

Finally, the integration of Western Europe has happened in ways distinct from the diplomatic negotiations of treaties between governments. There has been a cultural process at play, too, in the sense of the popular activities, values, and behavior of Western Europeans themselves, in addition to the economic, political, and legal ones of government. Instead of *the* European Community as a policymaking institution, what we see developing among the young travelers of 1968 is *a* European community as a transnational social group.

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<sup>112</sup> The left in general has relied on such informal political actors and networks. See Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000* (Oxford, 2002).

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## Featured Reviews

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JACK GOODY. *The Theft of History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 342. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.99.

Jack Goody is one of the foremost anthropologists in the United Kingdom. Trained as an anthropologist and archaeologist, he was influenced by the study of prehistoric societies pioneered by V. Gordon Childe. Childe developed a diffusionist theory of civilization based on technological transformations of the Bronze Age that generated large-scale social changes across Eurasia. Goody has worked on a wide range of topics and areas including inheritance, literacy, kinship, and the comparative study of Asia, Europe, and Africa. In this book he draws on a lifetime of research and analysis to launch a penetrating critique of the Eurocentric assumptions of the most prominent historians and social analysts of the last century, such as Fernand Braudel, Max Weber, Norbert Elias, and Karl Marx among many others, in their conception of world history.

While some readers will surely not be able to muster the energy to read yet another critique of Eurocentrism, Goody's book has much to recommend it since it is very learned and proposes an alternative methodology. Indeed, the value of the work emerges when set in the context of the different strains and goals of the critique of Eurocentrism among its various advocates.

Although the topic of the "West versus the rest" and its advocacy is probably as old as modern Western scholarship, as a *problématique*—by which I refer to its field of contestation—it is perhaps only about a hundred years old. Not surprisingly, the challenge to Western superiority emerged from those challenged by the dominant narratives of civilization within the West itself, particularly from the German counterrevolutionary tradition most famously associated with Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1918). The end of World War I opened the floodgates for the critique of Western superiority—particularly of the "civilizing mission" of imperialism—made by humanist and nationalist intellectuals within Asia and later Africa. But significantly, the critique continued to be conducted within the terms of the Western conceptions of civilization.

There were two strategies whereby the societies of Eurasia claimed equivalence to the West. One was by claiming to have achieved the same benchmarks pro-

claimed as unique achievements in the West—such as science, rationality, and economic development; the second was to lay claim to traditions superior to those of the modern West, such as nonviolence, ethics, spirituality, communitarianism, holism, environmental naturalism, and the like. Indeed, a classic formulation of the solution to world problems in the interwar years sought to synthesize the best of the East and West.

The problem remained, however, that regardless of the sincerity of the thinkers, these ideas were susceptible to political appropriation. Notions of alternative civilizations became the ideological grounds for establishing or securing national power, often beyond the nation, as it had been in the West. This is most clear in Japanese pan-Asianism. It became the ideological basis of the Japanese interwar empire, but many smaller Asian and African societies have been historically nervous about claims to Asian civilizational leadership among Chinese and Indians. Narratives of civilization have often served historically as the bridge between nationalism and imperialism.

It is important to recognize that scholarly responses to the superiority of the West have largely taken place within this *problématique*. To be sure, scholars in decolonizing nations produced some excellent research about advanced historical developments in countries like China, India, Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and many other Eurasian societies. Thus we have such works as Xu Dixin and Wu Chengming's *Chinese Capitalism, 1522–1840* (2000) and Irfan Habib's "Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India" (*Journal of Economic History* [1969]), among many others. It should be noted that these works were not taken very seriously in the West in their time—or at least not until these economies themselves revealed a contemporary dynamism. Much of this work was conducted within the framework of anti-imperialist, particularly, Marxist theories. Indeed, Japanese Marxist scholarship (and the Joseph Needham project on Chinese science in Cambridge) during the postwar years made enormous contributions to our understanding of the highly developed state of imperial Chinese society. J. Mark D.

Elvin's celebrated 1973 work, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, which documented the economic revolution from the eighth to the twelfth centuries C.E., would not have been possible without this contribution.

At the same time, the Marxist/anti-imperialist framework of the Asian scholars frequently obscured the other, nationalist framing that was just as important in these works (as they were in most parts of the world at the time). Take for example the case of the "sprouts of capitalism" argument made in China in the 1950s and 1960s. It gained salience during a time when Soviet historians insisted on consigning Chinese history to a stagnant "Asiatic mode of production" and thus logically more primitive than even the slave mode of production. Chinese Marxists identified their own historical system as a feudal mode (semifeudal, semicolonial) and were eager to demonstrate that China almost made the breakthrough to capitalism through the idea of the "sprouts." The falling away of the Marxist goals has led to the celebration of civilizational achievements in nation-states like China and India solely as elements of nationalist pride and privilege.

If historical scholarship is to rescue these histories from the *problématique* of civilization, we should be paying a good deal more attention to the kind of history advocated by Goody. Goody's analytical starting point is the emergence of Eurasia as an interconnected zone with the onset of the Bronze Age five thousand years ago. The technological revolution enabled intensive agriculture that permitted surplus accumulation, class stratification, literacy, bureaucracy, urbanization, and interlinked city-based civilizations across the zone. Consequent upon these factors and depending on the changing circumstances of access in a particular region, the zone was connected by long-distance trade, warfare, technology, ideas, and organizational and institutional practices (including mass industrial production). By utilizing this framework, Goody shows the ways in which European scholars have striven to dislodge "Western" history from its actual historical contexts. Carthage, Phoenician traders, Persia, Egypt, India, and most of all, China and the Islamic world have played a much greater role in Western histories than even the most radical analysts have acknowledged.

Thus instead of identifying the emergence of private property as a singular moment of transformation, Goody prefers Henry Maine's observation that there existed a hierarchy of rights in land, some located in the individual and others in the collective in both Western and non-Western societies. With regard to industrialization, although he grants that British industrialization in the late eighteenth century was of undoubted historical significance, Goody highlights the consequential background of "industrialization, mechanization and mass-production developed . . . in China with textiles, ceramics, and paper, in India with cotton, later taken up in Europe and the Near East" (p. 210). He also discusses the realm of institutions, particularly of knowledge production and values, including humanism, democracy, individualism, and romantic love. In none of

these cases does he find European societies to be the exclusive proprietors of these institutions and values. Rather the Europeans owed these traditions in a significant way to other, most notably Islamic, societies.

Goody's most difficult challenge is to critique those scholars he admires most, such as Braudel, Moses Finley, and, perhaps, Karl Polanyi. For instance, Goody disputes Polanyi's conceptual binary of the redistributive versus the market economy, arguing that most pre-modern societies contained both types of exchange. Similarly he contests Braudel's suggestion that finance capital represented the distinctiveness of European capitalism, arguing that capital markets appeared as needed in other arenas of commercial capitalism such as China and India.

Instead of foregrounding binaries between social categories—including democracy versus tyranny (but not absolutism) and individualism versus collectivism—that end up unnecessarily or falsely sharpening distinctions in this great zone of humankind, Goody proposes an analytical grid that would track the intensity of different innovations over time and space. To be sure, this scheme tends to favor an evolutionary framework over contingency, genealogy (in the Foucauldian sense), and radical change. Someone like William McNeil might argue the most important development over the last thousand years was the particular circumstances of fiscal militarism in Europe that propelled the opening of the oceans and the global search for inanimate forms of energy, thus enabling the industrial revolution. While I would agree with such a critique, the value of Goody's scheme is that by keeping the larger framework in mind, we do not need to reify these radical developments. Other societies are poised to learn the lessons from one part of the Eurasian world quickly enough—given the timescale of history—and it is unnecessary to identify the distinctive qualities of a region or nation as unifying all dimensions of life and reaching back into the mists of time: that is, unless one has a political agenda.

Of course, we are still left with other problems in Goody's work. I have not dwelt on the weaknesses of specific arguments or his mode of presentation in citing contrary evidence. Despite his vast learning and hand-to-hand combat style of argumentation, readers are likely to find much to quibble about. But perhaps more importantly, how does this argument—or rather how can the salvific impulse of this argument, based on Eurasian developments—affect our understanding of the histories of sub-Saharan Africa, indigenous America, and the rest of the rest of the world? In this respect, because of his vast evidentiary base, Goody can be taken more seriously than other analysts who would—and have—generalized this kind of argument to the entire world. I would rather take one step at a time and hope that denationalizing histories on the vast scale of Eurasia would itself prompt a new paradigm to address historical questions that speak to the urgency of our global present.

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PAUL FREEDMAN. *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 275. \$30.00.

This is a magnificent, very well written, and often entertaining book that is also a major contribution to European economic and social history, and indeed one with a truly global perspective. As Paul Freedman so correctly and aptly states in his introduction: "The passion for spices underlies the beginning of the European colonial enterprise, a force that remade the geography, politics, culture, economy, and ecology of the entire globe."

The first and most obvious question that the author poses is this: why did the Europeans, and the Romans before them, maintain such a high and constant demand for spices over almost a millennium? He dismisses the still widely held belief that spices were necessities: that is, preservatives required both to preserve food and to disguise the tastes of either poor-quality or, worse, decaying foods. Not so. Instead, salt was the universal preservative, along with pickling, smoking, desiccating, or air-curing foodstuffs. All of these methods were relatively cheap, while, from the Roman era, spices were very expensive. Indeed, the fact that spices were so expensive, out of the income reach of much and probably most of medieval society, should itself indicate that spices could not possibly have been a general social necessity.

If, then, spices were instead luxury goods, two questions arise that guide and necessarily govern most of the rest of Freedman's admirable study. What explanations can be offered for such a demand for spices from an evidently small but important segment of Roman and medieval society? A major emphasis of the book is that for the aristocracy and the upper strata of the bourgeoisie the consumption of spices was necessary in order to demonstrate and substantiate superior social and economic status, akin to their wearing luxury apparel of silks, furs, and scarlets or other very fine woolsens. That helps to explain an apparent economic paradox. For if a primary law of economics is that demand varies *inversely* with price, the consumption of spices (and diamonds, and silks) proves the contrary case: that very high prices for spices, symbolic of luxury values, in themselves sustained demand among the wealthy.

But of more concern to economic historians is the question of why and how such a trade in spices and other luxury goods significantly affected the economy and society of Europe, let alone the world economy. Luxury production and trades have never been the routes to modern economic growth. The modern British industrial revolution began, after all, with cottons, not silks, even though water-powered mechanization in silk spinning ("throwing") had preceded that in cotton spinning by five centuries (Lucca, Bologna). Nevertheless, I fully agree with Freedman that the spice trade had a very genuine importance for many economies in medieval and early modern Europe: in particular, for

Venice and Genoa, Portugal, the Low Countries (both Antwerp and the Dutch Republic), England (the Levant and East India Companies), and the Ottoman Empire, to name only the major participants. And who can doubt their importance, in turn, for European economic development?

Chapter one is devoted to the culinary use of spices in cuisine: principally (in order of importance) black pepper, cinnamon, ginger, and saffron, followed by sugar, nutmegs, cloves, mace, and galingal (similar to ginger, no longer used in Europe or the Americas). Unlike today's Western cuisines, spices were used in all the main dishes, not just desserts—and used in a far greater variety and in much greater quantities, at least in the kitchens of the prosperous, if not just ultra-wealthy households. For his research, Freedman consulted more than 140 cookbooks and many treatises, in many languages, from both the Roman and medieval eras. Several recipes are provided, but individually, and scattered through the book. I would have preferred them to be grouped together in an appendix that should also have included, for the sake of comparison, modern-day Asian and north African recipes, to reveal the similarity of the major spices used. The author is perfectly correct in asserting that the primary use of such spices "was in sauces to accompany meat or fish," or fowl, which was otherwise prepared fresh and simply roasted, grilled, or boiled. That provides further evidence to combat the still common view of their role as preservatives.

Chapter two considers the widespread medicinal role of spices as digestives (a very major role that is often overlooked today), as healing or curative drugs, as aphrodisiacs, and also as contraceptives (though their role as abortifacients is not mentioned) and as methods deemed effective in warding off various diseases. Chapter three continues with the role of spices as aromatics and perfumes, and especially their religious significance in terms of incense. He points out a major paradox: that the Islamic world, the key source of most spices, utterly rejected this role of spices as incense in religious worship.

That leads in turn to a consideration of the link between spices, and Paradise, the Garden of Eden, thought to lie in the distant, mysterious, and magnificent East. Indeed, a major contribution of this book, based on an immense amount of literary, iconographic, and artistic research, is to demonstrate that a key factor in the centuries-long allure of spices was their Eastern connection, and particularly an assumed connection with Paradise, or at least with exotic, mysterious Eastern lands of enormous wealth and all the earthly pleasures in vast abundance. Indeed, the idea that spices and such goods were abundant and relatively cheap at their actual source (despite tales of their being guarded by deadly serpents) provided a major incentive to by-



pass Muslim and other Asian middlemen in order to find a relatively short, direct, and low cost route to the East and thereby reap enormous profits—such as those reaped by merchants in Alexandria, Beirut, and Venice.

That theme is further developed in the next two chapters: numbers four on “Trade and Prices” and five on “Scarcity, Abundance, and Profit,” both of which examine the sources, production, trade, and transmission of various spices, medicinal products, and dyestuffs in and from Asia. While the nature of demand is obviously essential to understanding the high value of spices, so is the nature and structure of supply, especially in explaining often severe fluctuations in spice prices in Europe itself. One of the most remarkable treatises that the author offers us is by a contemporary of Christopher Columbus, Martin Behaim, a Nürnberg geographer who correctly observed that both the high prices and their fluctuations were principally due to the long and generally perilous distances from eastern and southern Asia to Alexandria and, even more importantly, to the high transaction costs that included numerous exactions of customs duties and other taxes, perhaps a dozen or so. No serpents were offered as cost factors in this explanation! Freedman also demonstrates that for one other important spice, saffron, the source of its scarcity was not distance—i.e., transportation and related transaction costs—but labor costs. The fact that producing just one pound required the extraction of 70,000 stamens, with just three per plant (thus requiring over 23,000 saffron plants), with no labor-saving machinery, fully explains why saffron, though widely cultivated, even within Europe, was then and is now the world’s most expensive spice. In Toronto today, saffron costs about \$1700.00 per pound, compared to just \$7.67 CAD (= \$6.00 USD) per pound of ginger, and \$10.99 CAD (= \$8.59 USD) per pound of pepper.

The following chapter on “That Damned Pepper” examines the reverse side of the coin, so to speak: the inherent moral dangers presented when such ultra-luxurious commodities, though intrinsically good, instigated a variety of sins (at least in the minds of moral reformers): greed, self-indulgence, vanity. Chapters seven and eight concern the trials and tribulations that Europeans endured to make direct contact with the sources of spices in not only Asia but also Africa. Freedman rightly devotes considerable attention to the roles that Portugal and Spain played in establishing direct sea routes to both the East Indies and the West Indies (the latter initially thought to be Asia), thereby inaugurating four centuries of European overseas imperialism.

Having given this fine book unstinted praise so far, I must now offer a few qualifications, principally concerning two related issues: prices and money (precious metals). First, if the essential thesis of the book concerns the very high value of spices in Europe, over so many centuries, where is the evidence? To be sure, the author presents several citations of prices throughout the text. But prices—especially nominal, silver-based money-of-account prices, drastically affected by

chronic medieval coinage debasements and by periodic changes in the supply of precious metals—are useless in themselves. They are meaningful only when they are compared, over time and space, with either a consumer price index, or at least with the prices for other important commodities and the purchasing power of labor. Only once (so far as I can see) does Freedman do so, and that is in citing such evidence from an online lecture (never formally published) that I presented in October 1983 and again (revised) in November 1988.

In the 1988 lecture I presented evidence for both London and Antwerp in 1439 (only the London evidence is cited in Freedman) comparing the prices of pepper and various other spices with those for a variety of other foodstuffs, textiles, and a building craftsman’s daily wage—then and also now. Such cross-temporal comparisons are crucial for clarifying matters of price; for example, the reader may find it useful to learn that in 1438–1439 a master mason or carpenter could have purchased 0.241 kg of pepper in London or 0.284 kg in Antwerp with his daily wage, but today (in Toronto, November 2008), he could purchase vastly more: 10.919 kg of black pepper. In 1438–1439, master masons in Antwerp and London seeking to buy saffron could have acquired only 13.06 grams and 20.62 grams respectively, with their daily wage; and today’s Toronto mason could acquire only 70.55 grams.

My 1983 lecture included a graph showing that in the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (301 C.E.), a pound of ginger (no pepper data were available) was worth the equivalent of 5,000 days’ wages for a Roman master mason, but by 1200, that value had dropped to “just” 8.6 days’ of a mason’s wages, while pepper then cost 13.9 days’ wages—thus not substantiating Freedman’s view that pepper was always the cheaper spice (John H. Munro, “The Luxury Trades of the Silk Road: How Much Did Silks and Spices Really Cost?” in John E. Vollmer, E. J. Keall, and E. Nagai-Berthrong, eds., *Silk Roads, China Ships: An Exhibition of East-West Trade* [1983]). A pound of cinnamon, which had cost an Italian mason 3.0 days’ wages in 1200, cost much more (8.3 days’ wages) in 1500 and 5.25 days’ wages (London), as late as 1750. The remarkable difference between medieval and present-day values, now relatively so low, illustrates the veritable technological revolutions that have occurred since then in production, transportation, and marketing, but also in the productivity of labor (its marginal revenue product, for the economist).

If I may now offer a criticism, it is simply this: annual spice prices for London and Antwerp, along with prices of many other commodities and wages, are readily available from 1400 to 1700 in James A. Thorold Rogers’s *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England from the Year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793)* (1881–1887), vols. 1, 4, and 5; and Herman Van der Wee’s *Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, 14th to 16th Centuries* (1963), vol. 1.

The other important issue concerning prices is the long-standing debate about whether or not a rise in



pepper and other spice prices in the fifteenth century provided a significant profit incentive for European merchants to seek out a direct sea route to the Spice Islands of the East. In 1968, Frederic Lane, then the leading historian of medieval Venice, published an important paper to refute that view ("Pepper Prices before Da Gama," *Journal of Economic History* 28:4 [Dec. 1968]: 590–597). His Venetian data demonstrate that earlier in the century pepper values rose sharply after the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (1422–1438) had imposed a rigorous monopoly on pepper sales at Alexandria. But immediately after Barsbay's death, spice prices then fell to even lower levels than those that had prevailed before his reign, and remained low until the Portuguese (Vasco da Gama) reached India and returned to Lisbon with a boatload of spices in 1499. Lane contended that pepper values then soared in Venice because of Portuguese monopolistic control of the spice trade. Eliyahu Ashtor fully supported Lane on pre-Vasco da Gama spice prices, though not entirely on the role played by Barsbay. Freedman, in an article published in *Speculum*, correctly reported Lane's thesis, but without details ("Spices and Late-Medieval European Ideas of Scarcity and Value," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 80:4 [Oct. 2005]: 1209–1227).

Unfortunately, Freedman subsequently encountered an online paper by the eminent and persuasive economic historians Jeffrey Williamson and Kevin O'Rourke, who sought to refute Lane's views, in all respects ("Did Vasco da Gama Matter for European Markets? Testing Frederick Lane's Hypothesis Fifty Years Later," The Institute for International Integration Studies (IIIS), Discussion Paper, Trinity College Dublin, no. 118, March 2006). In his current book, Freedman, without examining Lane's evidence, cites this paper to contend that Lane's views are no longer tenable. In my view, however, Williamson and O'Rourke (and thus Freedman) seriously misunderstood both Lane's views and his data. Their primary argument is that data presented in nominal, silver-based, money-of-account prices are useless—in principle, a valid charge—unless "deflated" and presented in "real terms" to take account of inflation. Lane, however, presented his pepper data in terms of Venetian ducats with a fixed, unvarying content of 3.560 grams fine gold (a good representation of "real" values), and only up to 1510—well before the onset of the inflationary, silver-based Price Revolution (whose impact on gold prices is very complex).

Lane's second thesis, that the Portuguese used their supposed monopoly powers to raise spice prices (e.g., in Venice) is, however, difficult to substantiate. The most obvious reason why pepper values in Venice soared from 1499 to 1504 (but then fell) is the temporary dearth of spices in Alexandria and Beirut, where Venice conducted its spice trades. During these years spice supplies in those two ports fell by seventy-five percent. Even when they recovered by 1513, only 314,000 lb of spices reached Beirut, compared to 4,256,000 lb (1,930,488 kg) in Lisbon (Munro, "South German Sil-

ver, European Textiles, and Venetian Trade with the Levant and Ottoman Empire, c. 1370 to c. 1720: A Non-Mercantilist Approach to the Balance of Payments Problem," in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Relazione economiche tra Europa e mondo islamico, secoli XIII–XVIII* [2007]). But in the important Antwerp and London markets, the former serving as the Portuguese spice entrepôt, there was only a very modest rise in spice prices for the years 1499–1502 (Van der Wee; Thorold Rogers) and no sustained rise in real values thereafter.

My other concern about Freedman's discussion of precious metals in the spice trade has an even greater scope, and global importance. In his chapter on "Spices and Moral Dangers," Freedman very usefully cites many late medieval diatribes against the trade in spices and other Asian luxury goods for their role in "draining" precious metals, and thus the wealth and very lifeblood of the European economy, to the East. There is now an enormous economic history literature on this topic in terms of adverse balance of payments (especially its supposed role in the late medieval "depression") that the author does not really consider. These late medieval criticisms were not irrational and were certainly not just used as a stick with which to beat any perceived moral dangers of spice consumption.

The simple historical fact is that neither the Romans nor subsequent Europeans, before the nineteenth century, could have possibly acquired spices and other Asian luxuries without exporting significant quantities of precious metals. The reason is simple: Europeans were then able to offer Asian markets only a very few manufactured commodities that would have been competitive in terms of both quality and cost. But the chief adverse economic factor was again distance: the extremely high transportation and transaction costs involved in usually dangerous maritime journeys of over 10,000 kilometers, as Behaim noted in 1492.

The one major European commodity that proved to be the vital exception was silver, principally because its relative value in terms of both gold and goods was higher in most parts of Asia than in Europe; that pro-silver bimetallic ratio remained generally true until the eighteenth century. Employing various data supplied by Ashtor, I have produced calculations to indicate that in Venice's Levant trade (Alexandria and Beirut) during the 1490s, a mean of 62.5 percent of the purchase values of African and Asian goods in those ports were paid for in precious metals, chiefly silver. In the seventeenth century, Europeans faced an even more adverse balance of payments problem in their commerce with southern and eastern Asia. Between 1660 and 1720, the English East India Company, in acquiring Asian spices, silks, and other very costly luxury goods, but also increasingly cotton calicoes, had to make proportionally even larger payments in silver. Thus, silver exports accounted for a mean of 78.9 percent of the purchase values, compared to thus only 21.1 percent from the sales of European merchandise (K. N. Chaudhuri, "Treasure and Trade Balances: The East India Company's Export Trade, 1660–1720," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser.,

21:3 [Dec. 1968]: 480–502). The chief reason for the difference between the Venetian and later English trades is that Europeans were better able to sell their merchandise, textiles especially, in the Levant and Ottoman Empires than they were in southern and eastern Asia.

Both sets of data certainly also prove the overwhelming importance of spices in their trades. For Venice, we can estimate that, in the 1490s, at least sixty to sixty-five percent of the value of their cargoes in the Levant trade was in the form of spices. But an important and growing share of Venetian imports was also in Syrian cotton, perhaps as much as 180,000 ducats out of 730,000 ducats (maximum estimates). That cotton was used to manufacture fustian textiles (mixed linen and cotton) in Italy and Germany—a very major growth industry in late medieval Europe. Similarly, in the English and Dutch East India import trades, a growing proportion, eventually superseding spices in importance, was in the form of new cotton textiles (calicoes and muslins) that created a veritable fashion revolution in Europe, displacing fustians and thereby providing the market foundations for the Industrial Revolution in cotton manufacturing.

The importance of precious metals for the spice trades thus indicates a somewhat different perspective from that offered in this book, an argument best exemplified (in my view) by the Eric Hobsbawm thesis on “The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century” (*Past and Present*, no. 5 [May 1954]: 33–53 and no. 6 [Nov. 1954]: 44–65): that the essence of “Old Colonialism”—i.e., the inauguration of European imperialism from Portugal’s 1415 conquest of Ceuta in North Africa—was the medieval lure of both gold and spices. In his discussion of Portugal’s African explorations, colonial acquisitions, and trade after 1415, Freedman does indicate the importance of gold in those expeditions and correctly notes that they initially resulted in a far greater importation of gold than of spices, by value. Freedman also notes that the acquisition of African pepper, now known as Malaguetta but then better known as “grains of paradise,” came to be far less important than the growing quantities of sugar exported from their various colonial plantations in the Atlantic and West African islands. Several sources consulted indicate that the Portuguese imported about seventeen metric tons of gold from West Africa into Europe, from ca. 1470 to ca. 1500, and another nineteen metric tons from 1500 to 1550, with a peak flow in the 1550s. By that time, they had found gold in greater quantities in especially Brazil (from 1500) and Mozambique (from 1505).

Two explanations for the importance of gold in the Portuguese explorations may be offered to supplement Freedman’s exposition. First, medieval Europe had long depended upon Africa for much of its gold supplies, whose major sources were located in the Upper Niger, Upper Senegal, and Upper Volta rivers, within the territory of the vast Muslim Mali Empire. Those gold supplies, via Italian trade, evidently diminished with the disintegration of that empire in the later four-

teenth and early fifteenth centuries (and its replacement by the weaker Songhai Empire). The Portuguese thus sought to reestablish that influx, by a direct sea route, at the very time that the late medieval “bullion famines” had become severe.

Second, as demonstrated in the analysis of Venetian trade with the Levant and English trade with South Asia, Europeans never had any choice but to offer precious metals in exchange for spices and other Asian luxury goods. Surely, the greatest importance of the vast quantities of New World silver that the Spanish provided in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Portuguese Brazilian gold in the eighteenth century, was in financing Western Europe’s expansion in the new global trades, especially with Asia.

According to Hobsbawm’s famous “General Crisis” thesis (not mentioned in this book), the crisis of “Old Colonialism” was produced by steeply rising, war-induced transaction costs and diminishing profit margins in the struggle to control the global trade in spices and precious metals. This inevitably led to the far more “productive” “New Colonialism” (which Hobsbawm saw as an essential foundation of the British industrial revolution): an economy based on the mass production, mass distribution, and mass consumption of “new” colonial products, such as sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, and cotton calicoes. What Hobsbawm neglected to observe (or clearly indicate) was that the most important new colonial commodity was a medieval spice: sugar, whose cultivation the Portuguese had spread to their new Atlantic possessions of Madeira, the Azores, and then to the coastal West African islands of Fernando Po, Príncipe, and São Tomé, and finally to Brazil. Hobsbawm also neglected to observe that the Portuguese had done so principally during his era of so-called “Old Colonialism.” Subsequently, in the era of “New Colonialism,” the Spanish, and then the English, French, and Dutch created even vaster new sugar plantations throughout the Caribbean. As is well known, the labor required for those plantations (and American tobacco and cotton plantations) came principally from West African slaves, an odious trade that the Portuguese did not invent but vastly augmented in introducing it into European globalized commerce.

The consequence of those economic changes was to convert commodities such as sugar, coffee, tea, and tobacco from high-priced luxuries into relatively cheap, mass-consumed commodities. Thus, in 1439, a master mason in London could have purchased only 0.50 lb of white sugar with his daily wage; in 1700, a master mason or carpenter in London could have acquired six times as much, 3.1 lb, with his daily wage. In Toronto today, a master carpenter can buy 204.65 lb or 92.828 kg of white sugar.

The role of sugar brings us to Freedman’s final chapter, “The Rise and Fall of Spices,” which explains why European demand for medieval spices waned, except for the perennially popular pepper—and sugar. Independent evidence on European foreign trade (not considered in this book), in particular the accounts of both

the Dutch and English East India Companies, reveals that the relative importance of spices dramatically declined in favor of other commodities from the 1660s. In part, the answer lies in changes in culinary fashions and culture, and that decline took place almost two centuries before the advent of modern refrigeration. Freedman cites many recipes and tracts to illustrate this change, along with treatises displaying increasingly negative views toward the consumption of spices. In part, the transition can also be found in Europe's new fascination and desire for new Asian and New World substitutes. He notes, for example, that the mean annual consumption of sugar in England rose from 1 lb in Elizabethan times (1558–1603) to 8 lb in the 1720s, to 80 lb today. That growing demand was to a considerable extent promoted by the vastly increased consumption of

two new beverages of Asian origin: tea and coffee. Freedman also concedes, however, that in Asia centuries of drinking such beverages did not impede Asian consumption of spices.

Possibly, by the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one of the key attractions for medieval Europeans had disappeared. The East, now well explored and partly colonized, was no longer so exotic and mysterious, and no longer linked to Paradise.

In sum, even if some of my comments may appear to be criticisms, they should serve to enhance the vital importance of this excellent book in leading us to better understand how spices came to transform Europe and the world itself, from medieval to modern times.

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TONY CLAYDON. *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 370. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$34.99.

Cambridge University Press has chosen to illustrate the latest in its series of studies of early modern Britain with the section of Jodocus de Vos's tapestry commemorating the Battle of Blenheim, which features the moment of triumph for an English army in Europe when a redcoat takes the fallen French colors. It is one of very few images of rank-and-file soldiery and one of an even smaller number that invest the soldier with simple human dignity. In similar vein, Tony Claydon introduces this timely, provocative, and controlled account with an anecdote, restoring the same dignity to prospective House of Commons' Speaker William Bromley, whose chances of office were detonated by the publication of a spoof edition of his travels on the continent. Within a narrative that covers a grand sweep and is extensively and impeccably researched and referenced are buried (and sometime not so hidden) personal and human touches.

Claydon's book is a study of English people's self- and European identification, in a period in which they had the focus of Hydra. Beginning with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, England, and subsequently Britain, was to be ruled by a king who had lived most of his life in exile in France, then by his younger brother, a Roman Catholic convert who was ousted by Parliament and William of Orange. The resulting principle of "Protestant succession" would in due course be upheld by the German-speaking electors of Hanover. The mid-seventeenth-century upheavals had often consolidated and defined Englishness and a little-England xenophobia, but the period of England's history between 1660 and 1760 was about England coming to terms with its new role within Great Britain and Ireland. What was European conflict for James II and William III was a very British sectarian battle on the banks of the River Boyne for Whig propagandists. The Eu-

ropeanism of William and the Georges affected Britain's ability to cohere society in its American empire. How would Claydon's book have looked if he had continued to an end date of 1776? One of the key ways in which we know about the social development of London, its inhabitants, and American trade and settlement in the early modern period is through the information provided by the "Four shillings in the Pound" assessment of 1694. This funded William's European wars.

The study is arranged thematically, with two very useful headings of a "confessional geography" and a "confessional chronology," followed by two chapters on the politics of England in Europe and of Europe in England. Compare the description of England that William Shakespeare placed in the mouth of John of Gaunt in *Richard II* with James Thompson's lyrics to *Rule, Britannia*. The former is a description of England, but also a constructed one: it is dependent on island status—"a precious stone, set in a silver sea"—but England's borders do not an island form. England here bears a facade of bravado in which the moat and wall are the island defenses that protect English siege mentality. By 1750 popular injunctions were for Britannia to rule the waves, so that while the seas that surrounded the island were once a moat to keep "Johnnie (popish) foreigner" out, they now provided a continuous coast of embarkation for thousands of British people to spread their ethos to farther shores. Whigs and Tories both formed rival constructions of Englishness and attacked their opponents for promoting foreign hegemony. In doing so, they formed a party-political system and a common-law code that were distinctively English, globally exported, beacons of liberty, and shamefully unifying all at the same time. But although the common redcoat who appears on the cover of this volume may have

fought to establish the victorious ethos of Englishness abroad, this message remained one of the (Whig) elite. There is little sense that English civilians thought in terms of the "Charter of the land."

Claydon begins with the English person's view of the space called "foreign" and the degree to which it was alien and defined Englishness by difference or by common assumptions. One of the most enduring was that the "sense of the English as Protestants was one of the most important and powerful emotions in the late Stuart and early Hanoverian eras, [which] prevented any narrow national identity" (p. 62). During the period after the post civil-war religious rumblings of the regimes of Charles II and James II, the English and increasingly Scottish elites vested so much energy in selling the Protestant ascendancy and the Protestant settlement on which it was based that if more humble English people identified themselves as Protestants, that would appear to be a measure of successful social cohesion. In fact, English people had a phenomenally well-developed, nonjudgmental ability to compartmentalize Europe according to religious confession, with the continent divided up like a multicolored checkerboard. They placed themselves squarely within the Protestant sector without being particularly prejudicial about their Catholic neighbors.

The first two chapters, which explore English notions of European culture though their reflections on space and time, are followed by two chapters on England's reflections on Europe's incursions into its domestic affairs in this period. The first of these, "England in Europe," traces that English presence in European politics through the return of English meddling in European wars, which is the story of "England's emergence as a world power." This chapter includes the back and forth naval warfare with the United Provinces of the Netherlands, establishing the transfer of mastery of the seas from the Dutch to the British, and the emergence of a new enemy in Louis XIV's France. The defeat of Ottoman Islam as the universal faith sweeping Europe allowed those sections of the English Protestant elite to dust off their invocatory warning of universal, tyrannical Catholicism surrounding and threatening Anglican righteousness. Thus "Europe in England" demonstrates the way in which rival visions of Europe shaped the development of English constitutional identity. It begins with the rise of party, and particularly Whiggism or Whiggery, which has shaped so much of our view of English history (despite being chronically out of fashion since the 1960s and the crisis of teleology of 1980s' revisionism). Whiggery, says Claydon, was shaped by "transnational spiritual identities" (p. 233). It is a familiar tale—the Exclusion Crisis, the Glorious Revolution, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Act of Union, the Hanoverians—with a new twist. In response to the New British History, which revised the anglocentric, metropolitan view of English history that made the Whigs' case so forcefully, by factoring in the interplay of all the elements of the Union under Stuart monarchs for whom composite

monarchy was their *raison d'être*, Claydon posits a "new European history."

The complexity of the English story is carefully unpicked. As he dismantles the Blenheim Tapestry of the triumph of Protestant ascendancy Whiggery, however, Claydon does fudge some of the intervening levels of complexity. Perhaps this is hardly surprising: one can only tell one story at once, as the New British Historians found in their attempt to combine the narratives of England, Ireland, Scotland, and (sometimes) Wales. The European struggles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries went far beyond the borders of the continent, and thus the European interplay in the empire introduced no end of multivalent relationships that cut across, undermined, or just plain ignored the dictates of London's political elite.

Perhaps a more urgent case could be made for some reflections on England's role within the Union—"a rich and complex subject with an increasingly sophisticated historiography" (p. 337)—that, it is true, would distort the proportions of this study and make for a very long book indeed. However, the century on which Claydon has chosen to focus is one in which (unless Anne was sufficiently anglicized) none of the monarchs that topped England's political elite was English and more of the period comes under the category of British than English history. The true architect of Union was James VII of Scotland and II of England and Ireland, whose flight and fight created Jacobites in all of his multiple kingdoms, albeit disproportionate in number and influence. Claydon's story is that of the hegemony of the Protestant settlement ascendancy version of Britain, and the survival of dissentient alternative narratives of identity below. But are those narratives identifications of Englishness? Some of the commentators in this story write about both England and Britain but are not English themselves: Alexander Drummond was Scottish; Thomas Nugent was of Irish birth and Irish and Scottish education, although spending much of his life in England; and Gilbert Burnet, the historian of Anglican Episcopalianism, as befit a bishop of Salisbury, was born in Edinburgh. Such people straddled the geographical sub-boundaries of the islands of Britain and Ireland, spoke of the constant movement and acculturation of peoples, and lived through unionist times. When were they commenting on English identities and when on British?

Claydon's prose shines brightest when he breaks down such complexities to their most personal moments, telling individual narratives of identity, such as that of Richard Lassels, the Catholic priest who coined the Grand Tour and provided the model for English views of confessional space. Bishop Burnet was time's narrator: his *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1679) identified and buttressed England's history within the Protestant struggle. It is less effective when it attempts to lighten dense and abstract political exposition and tips toward anachronism. Claydon has an important and timely message to convey as the elements of Britain and Ireland struggle to disentangle



themselves from each other, only to reassemble as part of a "Europe of the Regions" within the European Union. It is an illuminating and interesting way to continue the debates that have hitherto rested in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of England/Britain's wider construction and its attendant decon-

struction. The Whig triumphalism that settles on a single English soldier, foregrounded with flags and drums, should not be allowed to overshadow the chaos, carnage, and destruction that raged behind him.

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KAREN BARKEY. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 342. Paper \$25.99, cloth \$80.00.

Karen Barkey uses the example of the Ottoman Empire to explore the important question of why some imperial systems last so long. In her work, the Ottoman Empire becomes the explanatory model for the problematic of longevity.

For several decades, the paradigm of the centuries-long decline and inevitable demise of the Ottoman Empire has itself been declining. This paradigm held that the Ottoman Empire had benefited from a series of energetic sultans to reach an apogee in the later sixteenth century, but subsequent leadership failed and a combination of decadent sultans, manipulative harem women, and corrupt bureaucrats and military officials set in motion a long and steady decline that dragged on through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Despite some efforts to ape the west, the long decaying empire finally succumbed and deservedly vanished from the earth after World War I.

Barkey's important new book summarizes the literature on the empire of the Ottomans in order to make significant interventions that further our understanding of this enduring political and social system as well as of other empires. Since empires are heterogeneous bodies, she focuses on how the Ottoman Empire, and perhaps by extension other empires, dealt with difference. Barkey draws heavily on a wide body of published Ottomanist scholarship and, to a much lesser degree, writings on other empires. She explores both the longevity and the decline of this 600-year-old empire: "From its centuries of consolidation, the Ottoman Empire emerged as a marvel of flexible control over complexity" (p. 294). In the end she is more effective in explaining the endurance and longevity of this amazing state than in explicating its ultimate demise.

For several centuries, Ottoman intellectuals and European polemicists alike contributed to the odd picture of an empire that enjoyed 250 years (or less) of dynamism followed by 350-plus years of torpidity and slumber. Even at the very moment of apogee, some Ottomans wrote of decline. Much later, European observers gleefully anticipated the impending Ottoman collapse but found this event kept eluding their grasp. These patterns of analysis carried over into the twentieth century and only began to be challenged around 1970 when the blossoming field of Ottoman studies started offering a series of powerful correctives to this dismal and inac-

curate picture. For example, we now know that the sixteenth-century Ottoman writers on Ottoman "decline" actually meant deviation from the good old days. In fact, these writers were the losers in domestic power struggles of their times and complained of a changing system of mobility that excluded *them* from office and wealth. Instead of pointing to changing patterns of mobility, they pointed to the corruption of norms and of overall decay.

Ottoman studies has grown explosively since the 1970s, partly a product of the opening of the Ottoman archives in Istanbul and the growth of federally financed area studies programs, as well as of the expansion of the historical profession generally. Ottomanists now represent the field of Middle East studies in many history departments across the country, often providing a needed link between the premodern and modern histories of the region and offering a powerful exemplar of empire.

Many of the new scholars enthusiastically embraced the emerging field through the prism of language, as they were encouraged to do by the structure of multidisciplinary area studies programs. Some others, in proportionately more rapidly growing numbers, employed the disciplines of history and sociology to try to understand and contextualize the Ottoman experience. A new injection of scholarly energy arrived in the early 1990s, spurred by a growing interest in explaining the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satrapies and the horrific events in the former Yugoslavia.

Barkey focuses upon Ottoman longevity as part of her wider inquiry into why empires endure. Her work profits greatly from the contributions of two strands of scholarship, one linked to Ottoman studies and the other to a more recent mounting interest in the question of empire. She frontally attacks the decline paradigm, which still twitches with life in some dusty corners of academe, and thus contributes to both Ottoman and empire studies. For two-thirds of the book, Barkey brings attention to a dynamic, flexible, and pragmatic succession of Ottoman leaders and policy makers. Instead of asking why this empire declined, she more productively probes into the causes of its endurance.

In a growing empire with scores of groups speaking different languages, professing different faiths, and living in distinct cultures, the emerging imperial elites in



the fourteenth century accepted these differences and were made stronger by them. She uses the metaphor of a spoked wheel with the central state (hub) negotiating separately with groups (the spokes). Relations existed between the center and each specific group but there were few ties between or among the various groups. The strength of the empire lay in the elite's willingness to accept the *difference* of a particular group and negotiate with it anyway. Readers will be impressed by her insistence that a major feature of centuries-long imperial dominance was "the pragmatic and flexible management of diversity, with boundaries as *mobile markers of difference*" (p. 277; italics in original). Less persuasively, she asserts but does not effectively demonstrate the two-way nature of the process in which society influences the state and vice versa. Moreover, the utility of this metaphor for other empires remains uncertain because she does not draw explicit comparisons.

The beginning of the end of tolerance for diversity started, she says, when Ottoman subjects began forming links among themselves, between the spokes, starting in the eighteenth century. Stimulated by the economic opportunities of lifetime tax farming and long-distance trade, they began to form "open, fluid and far-reaching networks of commercial activity" (p. 242). Elsewhere she speaks of regional notables who "constructed an alternative Ottoman social structure, one that was highly-interconnected" (p. 256). As an unintended consequence of government actions, parts of Ottoman society began to break away from state control. In the eighteenth century increasingly thick networks of international merchants and of tax-farmers began forming networks of *their own*, free of state control. "Yet, the unintended by-product of such an extension of distributive privileges was that it allowed provincials to develop their own new world" (p. 236). While such connections could have led to a still-tolerant state and society, Barkey troublingly introduces a *primum mobile* that, in my view, detracts from the elegant and persuasive explanatory edifice for Ottoman longevity that she had been erecting. It seems to me overly simple to blame, as she does, the "increasingly negative . . . and demeaning language and discourse of the Europeans. As a result the open, fluid, and far-reaching networks of commercial activity could not endure, and [Ottoman Muslims and non-Muslims] reorganized along communal, protectionist lines" (p. 242).

In fairness to the author, it does seem easier to explain why this extraordinary system of tolerance worked than to understand why it increasingly failed to do so during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While she is correct in her description of the Europeans' condescension and bigotry toward most Ottomans—Jew, Christian, and Muslim alike—she fails to explain the reasons for Ottoman subjects' withdrawal from toleration, if indeed such a general retreat occurred. As I understand it, she seems to be arguing that as long as the Ottoman state controlled state-subject and subject-subject relations, this admirable system of toleration could continue. But once Ottoman subjects were left to

their own devices, without the guiding hand of the state, intolerance exploded. Exactly which Ottoman subjects became intolerant is left unexplored, and here lies a second important difficulty with the book. Agency remains wrapped up with state and societal elites—the tax farmers and international merchants and the provincial notables who sometimes form part of these two groups. There is no sense of any agency from below. This seems striking, for Barkey painstakingly and repeatedly points to the force of societal agency during the later Ottoman era and argues clearly that societal groups had become vitally active. But Ottoman society in her study is a very small group indeed, so we are left with these elite agents of change plus the state, coupled with accusations that Europeans caused Ottoman subjects to become mutually destructive. She ultimately fails to sufficiently explore the dynamics of late Ottoman society itself and leaves most Ottomans in the category of passive recipients of changes brought by their social betters and by foreigners. This seems to be a very limited image of Ottoman society.

Indeed, there is a real decline in the persuasive power of the analysis once she completes her presentation of flexibility. In the final third of the book, as she moves into the eighteenth century, which is the lever for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and beyond, her explorations of the Ottoman transformation stick closely to prevailing paradigms concerning Western influence and elite behavior (e.g., pp. 266, 268). Indeed, her discussion of the nineteenth century's so-called *Tanzimat* reforms repeats overly familiar arguments. By contrast her earlier chapters, also based on existing scholarship, offer the reader a fresher analysis of Ottoman tolerance and flexibility.

I, for one, am inclined to give Ottoman social groups more credit for mutual tolerance and acceptance and for their majority support of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious Ottomanist project until the very end of the empire. My assessment in no way denies the horrific violence of the late empire and the wanton destruction of the Armenians by elements of Ottoman society, as well as by the military and civilian bureaucracy, but it does call for a more nuanced explanation for the end of this empire than the author has been able to provide. Our differences rest squarely on contrasting interpretations. Barkey seems to see the end of empire as ineluctable—because of the patterns she traces in her worthy and helpful book—and she comes close to seeing the emergence of the Turkish Republic as an inevitable and necessary consequence of the end of empire. At one point she stakes a claim for the Turkish Republic to be the Ottoman successor state (p. 265), thus undercutting future analysis of how other states such as Syria, Bulgaria, and Iraq also were Ottoman successor states. Relatedly, there is the jolting statement in which Barkey speaks of "the *return* [my emphasis] of refugees [to Anatolia] from Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Caucasus" (p. 291). I am not certain of the intended meaning here, but it certainly leaves an impression of an ingathering of one people, in this case Turkish, to an ancient home-

land. Overall, she downplays the Ottomanist—that is, pro-imperial and anti-national—forces still at work in the final years of the empire. She is ignoring a powerful school of scholarship arguing that the final disappearance of the empire was contingent on the Ottoman entry onto the losing side in World War I and was not inevitable.

Let me conclude with some specific concerns. While Barkey routinely and persuasively discusses the various competing or overlapping elements in the Ottoman state structure in the chapters on the earlier Ottoman centuries, she is less nuanced further on. For example, she repeatedly references “the Ottoman state” of the early nineteenth century (p. 274), writing about it as the

monolith that both she and we know it never was. Scholars need to read Ottoman history with an eye for the *competing elements* within state decision-making bodies. Why should Ottoman imperial decision-makers possess a uniformity of thought and policy not present in other empires? Also, in the same chapters on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Barkey too willingly and too often leaves the stage to Europe as the value-maker of the world (p. 276) instead of considering the impact that China, Japan, or the Ottomans might have had on the shaping of global norms.

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REBECCA M. McLENNAN. *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776–1941*. (Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 505. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.99.

Rebecca M. McLennan’s sweeping study of the evolution of penal thought, practices, institutions, and politics in U.S. history focuses primarily on New York State, where penal reformers and prison administrators built models and set precedents that influenced prison policies throughout the nation. The book’s primary concern is with the economics of prison labor, a form of involuntary servitude meant to underwrite the costs of imprisonment as well as to discipline and reform inmates. Its scope includes the internal relations of state officials, prison administrators, guards, prisoners, and nongovernmental organizations, the ongoing protests of organized labor, and political wrangling over prisons as sources of patronage or exemplars of bureaucratic efficiency. McLennan draws on extensive sources to describe and analyze one hundred fifty years of policies and practices guiding government treatment of incarcerated convicts.

After the American Revolution, prolonged incarceration became the primary punishment for male felons. This was justified in two ways. On the one hand, advocates considered imprisonment far more humane (and republican) than the earlier practices of hanging, corporal punishment, and public humiliation. On the other hand, incarceration provided state officials with a controlled environment and sufficient time to reform criminals so that they could experience penitence, develop habits consistent with law-abiding behavior, and learn skills that would enable them to become stable family men and productive citizens. Some early critics claimed that imprisonment betrayed the revolutionary promise of liberty and constituted a new form of servitude akin to slavery. The state became a new type of master and the convict a new type of bondsman. These critics were not particularly influential. The legitimacy of incarceration became official through the addition of

the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which “made conviction for crime the sole grounds for the imposition of involuntary servitude on American soil” (p. 14). Thereafter, it was relatively rare for critics to question the state’s authority to strip convicted criminals of their liberty, sequester them for long periods in penitentiaries, and put them to work.

McLennan distinguishes herself from others who have written about American prisons by emphasizing the “foundational importance” (pp. 53–54) of prison labor. In the 1820s and 1830s, the New York State Prison at Auburn developed the contract labor system, whereby the state sold the labor power of prisoners to private interests. This arrangement helped the state to discipline prisoners and defray the costs of imprisonment. Simultaneously, it provided cheap, dependable, and profitable labor to private contractors. An important consequence of the contract labor system was that reformers’ goals, such as improving prisoner morals and rehabilitating convicts for free society, became secondary. Wardens gave top priority to disciplining the prisoner workforce, accommodating private contractors, and ensuring a steady flow of revenue into their institutions. During the antebellum years, the Auburn system was adopted in most other states and became the preeminent model of prison management in the United States.

McLennan’s book devotes considerable attention to imprisonment during the Gilded Age and the Progressive era. In the Gilded Age, the National Prison Association promoted a renewed emphasis on prisoner reform, which required limiting the power and influence of private contractors. This renewed emphasis proved to be short-lived. The economic problems of the 1870s motivated prison officials to rationalize the contract labor system rather than replace it. Industrial discipline

of the prison workforce eclipsed all other objectives; harder, longer labor for convicts became routine; and the prison system became increasingly dependent on private contractors. Reform approaches were largely abandoned.

Simultaneously, a number of forces lined up against the contract labor system. Reformers labeled the practice unrepugnant. Labor unions continued to protest the unfair competition posed by prison labor. And in 1883, the citizens of New York State voted to abolish the contract labor system. Abolition created a serious problem, McLennan tells us, for "the penal arm of the state now 'faced a full-scale crisis' of discipline, funding, and ideology" (p. 192). Prison officials and reformers agreed that productive labor was essential to disciplining and rehabilitating convicts.

How officials could provide prisoners opportunities for productive labor without the contract labor system was the key challenge of Progressive-era prison policy. All new efforts to provide full-time labor for convicts failed to match the performance of the contract labor system or meet current expectations. Accordingly, officials had to devise non-labor options for filling convicts' time and managing their behavior. Prison administrators developed work and training programs, educational courses, and recreational programs along with individualized medical and psychiatric treatment regimens, all of which seemingly transformed prisons from forced-labor camps into therapeutic communities that promised to help prisoners measure up to the demands of "manly citizenship" (p. 387). Experiments with prisoner newspapers and prisoner self-government afforded convicts rights and opportunities in return for their complicity in governing prisons and enforcing prison rules. New, incentive-based disciplinary systems provided inmates with privileges in return for obedience, and indeterminate sentencing schemes offered prisoners early release as the ultimate reward for good behavior. The eventual outcome of these experiments was "the new penology" that blossomed in the New Deal Era. This approach prepared inmates for cooperation, morality, family responsibility, gainful employment, regular voting, and reliance on a paternalistic state that secured the welfare of citizens (p. 378). The new penologists sought to bring prisons to the public's attention, solicit the support of business, labor, and philanthropists, and employ medical and psychiatric specialists to ensure prisoner health and well-being. Recognizing that prison officials "could not govern by force alone" (p. 418), the new penologists helped to build a "new, managerialist penal order" (p. 448) that predominated for the remainder of the twentieth century.

McLennan does a superb job of showing how drawing-board solutions to penal challenges encountered real-world obstacles. The politics of prisons had many stakeholders, including state administrators, local prison officials, and guards who had their own interests, inmates who could cooperate or resist discipline, voluntary associations and religious organizations concerned with the plight of prisoners, private economic

interests that did business with the criminal justice system, organized labor that competed with prison labor, and various political groups that had an interest in the penal system. Good ideas were never sufficient to solve practical problems. Big personalities and petty politics affected practices and shaped outcomes. Occasionally, citizens living near the prisons or statewide voters got involved, especially when prison riots and rebellions brought publicity to what was otherwise a punishment regimen mostly hidden from public view.

I would like to raise three questions about McLennan's analysis, the first two stemming from the book's title. First, the book is about "the crisis" of imprisonment. Exactly what is the crisis? Early critics claimed that incarceration was inhuman, counterproductive (it made bad men worse), and unrepugnant. What is remarkable to me is that this early criticism, coming on the heels of a revolution fought in the name of liberty, was so subdued. The steadiest stream of principled criticism came from former inmates, while the strongest objections came from rebellious inmates who suffered overcrowding and miserable living conditions. The fact that most Americans seemed to accept long-term incarceration as an appropriate punishment for convicted felons may be related to the common-law tradition that authorized the state to exercise discretionary police powers to ensure the peace and welfare of citizens. Did imprisonment experience "a crisis of legitimacy" around 1810, as McLennan claims (p. 4)? Or did penal reformers and prison officials simply become disenchanted when constant overcrowding defeated their plans to isolate prisoners from one another to prevent mutual contamination?

Eventually, the Auburn system was devised (prisoners slept in separate cells at night and were disciplined into silence when they congregated for labor and meals in the day) to foster moral improvement and productive labor. Certainly, reformers' goal of moral improvement became secondary as the payoffs of the contract labor system became manifest, but the reform goal never disappeared and periodically reasserted itself. Did the fall of the contract labor system in the 1880s and 1890s create a crisis of discipline, funding, and ideology? It certainly presented a challenge to prison administrators, a challenge that they addressed with modest success—if success is measured by the state's ability to pacify the prisoner population.

One might make a case that the history of American imprisonment is marked more by continuity than crisis. What did not change significantly after 1786, the year that Pennsylvania made incarceration the centerpiece of its new penal code? The main punishment for serious crime was the loss of freedom and sequestration in a penal institution. Once imprisoned, convicts had few if any rights. They could be summarily disciplined with numerous punishments, including corporal and psychological punishments. They were subjected to overcrowding, disease, and poor medical care, in part, because taxpayers resisted giving money to support convicted criminals. Meanwhile, there was an ongoing tension between reformers who wanted to prioritize the

inmate rehabilitation and prison officials whose primary concern was to maintain order among inmates and ensure a steady flow of prison revenues. One might make a case that these consistent elements were of foundational importance.

Second, the book's title refers to the "American penal state," and McLennan incorporates the concept into her analysis. What exactly is the "American penal state"? The idea of "the state" generally implies a relatively cohesive public entity with fairly distinct goals and interests. In Marxist theory, for example, "the state" might consist of governmental and non-governmental institutions that combine to promote the interests of the dominant class, that reconcile differences among segments of the dominant class, and that reflect the balance of power among the plurality of groups that seek favors from the dominant class. Certainly, a case could be made that the "American penal state" has consisted of prisons and allied non-governmental organizations that support the interests of a dominant class seeking to pacify marginal Americans, in part, by threatening to strip them of freedom and, in part, also by actually imprisoning several million of them. However, McLennan does not make this case or one like it. Rather, her analysis suggests that a broad array of stakeholders and a sprinkling of powerful personalities, rather than distinctive groups with discernible goals, have propelled the evolution of American prisons.

Third, was prison labor of "foundational importance" to the evolution of American prisons? The answer is not obvious to me. The first generation of American prison reformers debated whether prison labor should be voluntary or mandatory. Some reformers believed that new prisoners who experienced the boredom of idle hours in a cell would voluntarily choose to engage in labor. Accordingly, labor was a privilege to be earned through good behavior. Other reformers felt that prisoners should be required to work as a means to discipline them, teach them industry, and thereby prepare them for productive labor upon their release. From both perspectives, prison labor was instrumental to other, higher ends. Of course prison administrators were concerned with the financial health of their institutions, and prison labor was a fairly irresistible source of revenue. In this sense, the author is insightful for putting prison labor at the center of her analysis.

However, prison labor begins to disappear from McLennan's story when she gets to the Progressive era. Once the contract labor system was eliminated and no other labor system effectively replaced it, officials devised other ways to fill prisoners' time. Did this mean that prison labor was no longer of "foundational importance"? Indeed, was it ever?

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## Reviews of Books

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### METHODS/THEORY

ANTHONY T. GRAFTON. *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 319. \$23.99.

Anthony T. Grafton has written a masterful study of historical theory, the *ars historica*, as it flourished in sixteenth-century Europe. His book is based on Grafton's 2005 Trevelyan lectures at Cambridge University and self-consciously refers to E. H. Carr's 1961 lectures, which debated the notion of historical objectivity. Not unlike Carr's assessment of his time, Grafton finds the early modern disputes to exude both heat and light, and his inquiry traces for us the "buzzing of the bees" (p. 123) in the bonnets of early modern European theorists.

The first chapter surveys the scope of the *ars historica* debates, opening with the clash around 1700 between Jacob Perizonius and Jean Le Clerc. Their quarrel centered on the place of speeches in historical narrative, particularly in the work of Quintus Curtius Rufus. Le Clerc argued that the speeches Curtius fashioned are a sign of his unreliability; Perizonius countered that Curtius must be judged by the conventions of his own time, when such rhetorical set-pieces were common. This shared sense of historicity, devoted alternately to the reading and to the writing of history, indicates the end stage of the *ars historica*. Until the mid-1500s, training in history largely stressed the writing or production of texts, in which eloquence was prized; afterwards came the philological turn, whereby practices of reading or consumption outpaced the rhetorical pride of humanism.

The second chapter delves into the origins of the *ars historica*. Sixteenth-century northern European scholars elaborated the *ars historica* as a "hermeneutical discipline" (p. 68), distinguishing between primary and secondary sources. The exemplar for Grafton's case is the jurist François Baudouin (1520–1573). Passionately antiquarian, he also questioned the reliability of Roman records; although aware of the partial, fragmentary nature of artifacts, he sought a *historia integra*, which employed art and science to reconstruct the past. Baudouin advanced a sophisticated filter of historical knowledge that embraced several elements: an eye for

historical forgery; ecclesiastical history and medieval, Turkish, and oral sources from the Americas; and contemporary travel literature.

In chapter three, Grafton examines three "artists of history" who strove to explain "how to learn the truth about the past, how to reduce its lessons to systematic form, and how to apply them to the present" (p. 123–124): Francesco Patrizi (1529/30–1597), Reiner Reineck (1541–1595), and Jean Bodin (1530–1596). Each theorist betrays the complexities and contradictions inherent in the *ars historica*. A skeptic who skewered European ethnocentrism, Patrizi nonetheless relied on forged accounts of Egyptian annals. Reineck drew on medieval German sources but found it necessary to rectify their unclassical Latin. Bodin envisioned parallel histories of divine, human, and natural events while underscoring the variable influence of climate and geography. If Patrizi's skepticism and Bodin's sense of "endless change" (p. 176) strike us as their most modern features, Grafton reminds us that our modernity rests on assumptions nurtured by conflicting traditions.

The final chapter addresses the dissolution of the verities of the *ars historica* in the seventeenth century. The effort to "embrace the known world in all its immense variety" (p. 200) widened the fissures within the canon of learning. Gleaning advice from the past now confined itself to the narrower province of politics; more precipitously, the awareness that every historian could be contextualized undermined trust in historical analogies. Native accounts from distant regions and pamphlet literature combined to flood the study of the most assiduous scholar, casting him adrift in the sea of early modern information.

Grafton's examination, enlivened by imagery and allusions to once-canonical authors such as John Donne, Matthew Arnold, and T. S. Eliot, shows us the relevance of sixteenth-century disputes to our own conundrum in distinguishing fact from interpretation in the historical record and, more generally, in determining history's lessons. The burgeoning varieties of mapping time and space displaced the self-assured centrality of the bookish historian. Elaborating arguments he presented in *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (1992), Grafton demonstrates how the two eyes of early modern history, geography



and chronology, looked out through multiple lenses and angles of vision.

A few infelicities mar this erudite book. Certain authors, such as Giovanni Nanni, are designated alternatively by their Latin names; Michel de Montaigne's refutation of "Plutarch" (p. 187) should be, I think, of Bodin. Antecedents are sometimes obscure: e.g., for the "open questions" (p. 34) or "all three of these men" (p. 180). Otherwise focused on historical theory, Grafton also analyzes, in the case of Reineck, his practice of historical writing. The book's critical apparatus, too, has its peculiarities. While citing secondary material only by author and year, keyed to a bibliography, the footnotes quote primary material copiously in the original language: indeed, Patrizi's writings are recorded in both the vernacular and their later Latin translation. These citations no doubt support Grafton's intention to highlight the historical stature of the artists of history, and in this end he has succeeded.

TIMOTHY KIRCHER  
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KAPIL RAJ. *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xiii, 285. £53.00.

One of the more interesting recent developments in the historiography of modern science is the move away from the presentation of Europe and the United States as the crucible of science. Increasingly, scholars are questioning the theory that science was created in the West and was then, during the colonial period, diffused to other parts of the world. As a result, the spectrum of the debate ranges from those who regard science as one of the more efficient tools of the colonial state, which transformed colonial subjects into mere instruments or patients who were unable to exercise real agency or independent action or thought, to those who see broad evidence of collaboration in the creation of science in the colonies. Kapil Raj's new book is a good and well-written example of the second of these perspectives. Filled with arguments for the presence of "dialogic processes," "hybridity," "circularity," and "co-constructive" practices, Raj's study makes the case that modern science was not imported to South Asia but was created by Indians and the British in a civil and cooperative manner.

Raj's publication offers new interpretations of some well-known material, but it is also an example of where the sum is not necessarily greater than the parts. Indeed, the principal strengths of the book lie in the individual chapters, which are best read independently of each other. Although the introduction and conclusion try to tie the six chapters together by making broad points about science in colonial South Asia and Europe, the book remains largely ahistorical in the sense that there is little explanation for how science changed over

250 years. Part of the reason may be that Raj is so focused on proving the hybrid, co-constructive, and gentlemanly nature of scientific production that he chooses not to discuss in any detail the power relations that must have shifted over time and partially determined the practices and outcomes of science. A further weakness of the book as a whole, especially if read primarily as a contribution to the hybrid nature of scientific activity, is that there is little meaningful analysis of what science meant for Indians. For example, few, if any, South Asian language sources are used, and the voices of South Asians do not often come through. Colonial and secondary English-language works constitute the bulk of the sources, and, as a result, the arguments for hybridity are not as strong as they might be.

Despite the title's claims, the book's chapters tend to focus mostly on northern India, especially Bengal, with one chapter on Orissa and one on the Himalayas. All the chapters are engagingly written and offer interesting perspectives. The first is particularly noteworthy and exciting, since it focuses on a forgotten fourteen-volume manuscript herbal that was constructed in Orissa in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and is now housed in archives in Paris. Raj makes a compelling case that the volumes, drawn largely by Indians and patterned in part on a published European herbal, are examples of how scientific activity was dependent upon the participation of Indians.

The second and sixth chapters focus on mapping in Bengal by James Rennell and in the trans-Himalayan region by Indian spies. Raj's principal point is that in both cases the British relied on the geographical expertise of local people in the construction of important maps. For example, Raj points out that Rennell acknowledged in the memoir that accompanies his most famous map that he had received important geographical information from both Indians and Europeans. Similarly, the trans-Himalayan geographical spies, known to the British as Pundits, were crucial agents in the construction of new maps of Tibet and Central Asia.

In the third chapter, Raj shifts his attention to William Jones, a famous philologist and East India Company judge who was the first to articulate the theory that Sanskrit was linguistically linked to Greek and Latin. Raj spends much of this chapter pointing out how Jones's tendencies toward "civility" and "intercultural trust" resulted in his reliance upon and preference for Indian tutors.

Finally, the fourth and fifth chapters examine the roles that prominent, early nineteenth-century Bengalis played in the establishment of two colleges in Calcutta: a college at Fort William for Company cadets and a Hindu college for Bengalis. In both instances, Raj argues for the existence of alliances between Hindus and Company officials that bore fruit not only in Calcutta, but also in England, when part of the curriculum at Fort William, along with a number of Indian instructors, was transferred to a new college called Haileybury. Furthermore, Raj notes that Hindu elites were eager for a new institution of knowledge, that they wished to use this

new college to advance themselves within colonial society, and that they were active participants in their own scientific education, not passive recipients of a diffused knowledge.

IAN BARROW  
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EILEEN KA-MAY CHENG. *The Plain and Noble Garb of Truth: Nationalism and Impartiality in American Historical Writing, 1784–1860*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 368. \$44.95.

Anyone seeking knowledge of the historiography of the postrevolutionary and antebellum decades will wish to read this comprehensive, clearly written study. Eileen Ka-May Cheng persuasively refutes the long familiar charge that America's historians did not begin to write truthful (i.e., Rankean) accounts of the American past until the professionalization of historical writing in the late nineteenth century. Through study of historians' correspondence, their reviews of each other's works, and their declarations of purpose, Cheng recovers evidence of a regard for historical accuracy that grew from the revolutionary histories of David Ramsay and William Gordon, through the *Annals* of Abiel Holmes, to the massive narratives of William Prescott, Richard Hildreth, John Gorham Palfrey and, pre-eminently, George Bancroft. Contrary to still-lingering notions, antebellum Americans did not assume that patriotic fervor and manifest destiny could excuse the omission or distortion of compromising facts in their revolutionary past. Nor did they believe that adapting "romantic" techniques from the historical novel could render historical narratives justifiably "imaginary."

Cheng regards the forming of standards for the writing of American history as a continuum allowing for dispute, not as a binary opposition among choices. By the 1840s, "impartiality" and "originality" had become publicly accepted goals for the writing of national history, even though definitions of these two terms differed widely, and there was self-evident tension between them. No antebellum historian was willing to abandon belief in absolute truth, but some were prepared to argue that the absolute truth had not yet been discovered. All save Hildreth believed in some variant of what we now call "American exceptionalism," but many of the more prominent, well-educated historians, New England Whigs as they mostly were, were well read in the histories of David Hume, Leopold von Ranke, and Edward Gibbon; often they were German-trained, thoroughly familiar with international archives, and adept at cultural comparison.

Cheng explores the importance of seemingly incidental changes in the form and format of historical writing. As revolutionary and state histories evolved into multivolume national histories, the eighteenth-century notion of the historian as the editor of received opinion developed into the modern idea of the historian as researcher into primary sources. A heightened regard for

the words of documents led to a marked increase in footnoting in the works of Holmes, Prescott, and Bancroft. The footnote served as a way to cite substantiating sources, while laying claim to both originality and impartiality. Cheng connects this shift to underlying changes in the publishing industry. As the rapidly expanding literary marketplace increasingly depended on contracts for books conceived as "intellectual property," originality and impartiality became attributes through which the individual historian could rise to prominence and profit. As publications became property, plagiarism became a controversial issue demanding legal resolution.

Only occasionally does Cheng apply her findings about historiography directly to specific narratives, past events or interpretive conclusions within the published histories themselves. Although this choice could be seen as a missed opportunity, she compensates for it by her ability to vivify historiographical debates and issues. Hannah Adams's plagiarism dispute with Jedediah Morse, when combined with Charles Francis Adams's insistence on the importance of domestic sources (grandmother Abigail's letters) and Elizabeth F. Ellet's histories of domesticity during the American Revolution, supplement Nina Baym's findings in the emergence of women's history. Similarly, writers who have often seemed to be little more than names as occasional reviewers or compilers of reference books, emerge as individuals struggling amid their peers for self-definition as historians: Francis Bowen, Jared Sparks, and Lorenzo Sabine in particular. Cheng's explorations of long-known but rarely emphasized enmities (Bowen's detestation of Bancroft, Theodore Parker's attack on Prescott) up-end the lingering notion that antebellum historical writing was in some way monolithic.

The book (whose title phrase is taken from Francis Markoe) has its failings. Explanations of familiar matters too often offer nothing new: for example, the meaning of the word "Brahmin," Classical Republicanism, Whigs vs. Democrats, Unitarians, separate spheres, the novel vs. the romance, the need for international copyright, noble vs. ignoble savage, and Indian Removal are all discussed. Cheng's book contains sixty-four pages of footnotes to accompany 262 pages of text. Between footnotes numbered 88 and 114 in chapter two, the phrase "See Casper, Constructing American Lives," followed by page numbers, occurs twelve times in twelve separate footnotes. Surely there must be some limit to the need to show that one has done one's homework. If there is a failing here—and many an academic would see none—it is surely not Cheng's. For purposes of revising dissertations into books, could we not benefit from the work of editors, either in the academy or publishing houses, who would insist upon eliminating needless repetition? Although there is vital new matter in this book, less might have been even more.

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## COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ARTHUR H. WILLIAMSON. *Apocalypse Then: Prophecy and the Making of the Modern World*. (Praeger Series on the Early Modern World.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2008. Pp. x, 354. \$49.95.

The apocalypse, or the eschatological visions and millennial expectations contained in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the last book of the New Testament, has exercised a unique role in Western society. This book influenced Western imaginations for many centuries, and through its marvelous prophetic visions and apocalyptic scenario it determined the space of experience and horizon of expectations of many generations. No wonder that the power of the apocalypse continues to attract many scholars. Excellent studies have appeared on the role and power of the apocalypse in the Middle Ages, such as Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (1957), and Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn's edited volume, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (1992). As yet, however, there is no definite, systematic study of the power of the apocalypse in the early modern period.

Arthur H. Williamson has written important works on the role of the apocalypse in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The present book is his most ambitious on this topic, claiming "the apocalypse underwrote the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the British Revolution in the seventeenth century, and the American Revolution in the eighteenth century" (p. 1). His goal in the present study is to provide a survey of the power of apocalypse during the early modern period, asserting that "apocalyptic ideas and expectations" exercised in early modernity "the European imagination" from "Moscow to Mexico City, from Scotland to the Yemen" (p. 1). Believing that modernity was formed during the early modern period, Williamson argues that between "1500 and 1800" apocalyptic expectations "created modernity" (p. 2), in the sense that they transformed the nature and meaning of time. It is through apocalyptic expectations that "prophetic future becomes persuasive" and "history and concepts of changes become articulate and acquired importance, providing intelligibility that other ways of thinking no longer seemed to offer" (p. 2). This contention leads naturally to the very name of the book. In this context, the book may be seen as another attempt to reveal the origins of the modern world, along the lines of such important studies as Hans Blumenberg's *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* (1983), or Jürgen Habermas's *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures* (1987).

The book's first chapter provides a short survey of the apocalypse in Judaism and early Christianity, as well as its transformation during the medieval period. In the second chapter, the author traces the role of the apocalypse during the Protestant Reformation, rightly claiming that "history and prophecy were one" for Mar-

tin Luther and his followers (p. 45). A new concern with time is thus evident in the Reformation through apocalyptic expectations. Thus, out of the battle against the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant apocalypse during the sixteenth century "created the first genuinely historical vision of Europe" (p. 65). In chapter three, the author deals with the rise of the Spanish and Portuguese "messianic empires" (p. 75) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their millennial and eschatological meaning and significance, as well as with the opposition to them in Europe: "During the later decades of the sixteenth century, the English, the Scots, the French and the Dutch overwhelmingly and emphatically rejected the Last World Empire" (p. 84). In chapter four, Williamson describes the relationship between the apocalypse and science, arguing that "the apocalypse" provided "the spine for the program of science and the vision of its purpose" (p. 108). Chapter five deals with the British revolutions and the rise of modern politics. "The apocalypse reached its high mark" with the Scottish Revolution of 1637 and the English Revolution of the 1640s. In chapter six, the author continues his exploration of the relationship between the apocalypse and science, dealing more specifically with the works of John Locke and Isaac Newton, and especially with Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1681), which served as an important proof of the prevalence of the apocalypse in science. Chapter seven analyzes the crisis of apocalyptic consciousness through the cases of the Quakers, Jews, and other religious minorities. With the Quakers, the apocalypse was transformed: it "became bifurcated in that it offered a historical vision and at the same time 'realized eschatology' with the inner light of every individual" (p. 191). Likewise, the conversion of Sabbatai Şevi to Islam in 1665 "was disastrous for radical Protestantism and millenarian expectations" (p. 217). In chapter eight, Williamson explores the relationship between prophecy, the Enlightenment, and democratic revolutions, dealing with the transformation from the apocalypse to the new concepts of progress, historical probability, and the rise of civil millenarianism. Chapter nine discusses the American Revolution and the American Civil War, the latter of which "comprises the last major act of the Reformation" in the sense that it became "an eschatological crusade" (p. 288). The final chapter, "Antichrist in the Postapocalyptic Age," brings the story of the apocalypse into our time.

It is very hard to do justice in a short space to such a rich and imaginative study. This work is a *tour de force*, a clear testimony to the author's amazing range of interests and the depth of his research. It is a welcome, unique contribution to the puzzle of the relationship between apocalypse and history, modes of persuasion and modes of conduct. The book clearly succeeds in demonstrating the central role of ideological, apocalyptic considerations in the history of early modernity. Scholars and students alike will greatly benefit from the

discussion and analysis of Williamson's most valuable work.

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COLIN G. CALLOWAY. *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xxi, 368. \$35.00.

Both Scots and American Indians have received increasing attention in Atlantic world studies, and Colin G. Calloway's book brings the two together in a single volume. Although known primarily for his contribution to American Indian history, Calloway's consideration of the Highland Scots, both in Scotland and in America, is equally impressive.

Calloway offers less a clear comparative examination than something of a parallel study in which he loosely relates the experiences of Highland Scots and American Indians within the wider context of the English, and after 1707 British, Empire. The chapters are broadly thematic, yet the familiar chronology of contact, colonization, and conquest is also evident. Calloway's work lacks an explicit, driving thesis—a conscious choice of the author—but underpinning much of the book is an argument about the culturally destructive force of imperialism and capitalism that would be familiar to students of Edward W. Said. In Calloway's view, the tribal cultures of both American Indians and the Highland Scots were victims of British imperialism. The book thus examines territorial conquest as well as the attempts at cultural conquest, or "civilizing" efforts of the colonizers on the colonized. Individual chapters relate such events as missionary efforts to turn the tribal savages into civilized Protestants, the impact of industrialization and commercial agriculture on tribal economies, and the Highland clearances and Indian removal. Other chapters examine Highland-Indian relations in America, noting that among Europeans, the Scots were disproportionately prevalent on the frontiers and in Indian country as settlers, traders, bureaucrats, and warriors.

Ultimately, neither scholars of American Indian country nor those of Scotland are likely to find much new here in terms of their own fields, but both will benefit from the wider, comparative context and astute analysis Calloway offers. The comparison is not any easy one. The difficulty Calloway faces, and identifies, is threefold. First, neither Indians nor Highlanders operated as culturally distinct, unified groups during this period. They fought among themselves as much as they fought the British—something without which British imperial expansion would not have been possible. In this sense, Calloway likens the Mohegans' assistance in the destruction of the Pequot in the seventeenth century to the role of the Campbells in bringing the Highlands under English metropolitan control (pp. 35–36). Moreover, the Scots did not always divide easily among Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Scots-Irish, especially

once they reached and intermingled in America, and even the concept of a Highland culture is largely anachronistic and one that has been (mis)placed on the whole of Scotland. Second, the long-term outcomes for the Indians and Highlanders under English-speaking rule were incredibly different. As bad as the Highland experience was at times, Highlanders were ultimately integrated rather than annihilated. As much as Calloway emphasizes that Highlanders were perceived as non-whites by the English and Scottish Lowlanders, Highlanders were far more accepted as husbands and comrades than Indians ever were. Third, neither Indians nor Highlanders were consistent in recognizing each other's similar plights. Calloway has collected a host of anecdotal examples of English officers and the Lowland Scots that dominated the Scottish Enlightenment likening the Highlanders to Indians and the two in turn finding much in common with each other—the most poignant of which was perhaps the plea of John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees, that appeared in April 1847 in the *Cherokee Advocate*: "Have the Scotch no claim upon the Cherokees? Have they not a very especial claim? They have." However, as Calloway explains, Scots that had been forced out of their Highland homes did not hesitate to seize Indian lands, and Indians retaliated against them with the same vengeance they dealt English or German colonizers.

Despite these difficulties, Calloway makes clear that the Highland and Indian experiences were similar to a point. In fact, Calloway's hesitancy to offer a more assertive analysis and conclusions can at times be frustrating. Highland and Indian experiences tell a broader story of the devastation that resulted when the British Empire crashed into cultures rooted in kin-based tribalism: some destruction was consciously perpetrated by the colonizers, some was a by-product of the better-organized and better-financed British system of commerce and war, and some was brought on by collaborators. In this broad sense, Indians and Highlanders become case studies in a familiar tale throughout British imperial expansion and rule that was evident in not only in the Americas but also Ireland, Asia, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the South Pacific. The similarities are fascinating, but what is even more interesting—and a topic Calloway opens up for further inquiry—are the complexities of why the ultimate outcomes for cultures in these places was so different. Thus, Calloway's book makes for thought-provoking reading for all students and scholars interested in the cultural impact of imperial expansion.

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USSAMA MAKDISI. *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. (The United States in the World.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 262. \$35.00.

Ussama Makdisi's timely and significant book deals with a topic that until very recently has been widely writ-



ten about yet curiously underresearched in the field of Middle East Studies: the history of the complex cross-cultural encounter between American Protestant missionaries and Arabs. This is the first major monograph published on the subject since A. L. Tibawi's pioneering study *American Interests in Syria, 1800–1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (1966). This is all the more remarkable since American missionaries have been credited in many sources with introducing education (notably female education) to the Middle East, stimulating Arab nationalism, reviving the Arabic language, and ushering in progressive change and modernity to the region.

The author's main narrative is replete with multiple protagonists ranging from the Maronite patriarch of late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Lebanon, Istifan Duwayhi, to the American Puritan Cotton Mather, to name but two. At the center of his analysis are two Maronite Christians, converts to Protestantism who both attempted in different ways to challenge the American missionaries' exclusivist version of Christianity and the association of American ideas with American culture: As'ad Shidyaq, the "first [Maronite] convert" and "martyr," and Butros Bustani, the noted nineteenth-century Lebanese intellectual, educator, and leader of the Arabic cultural revival known as the *nahda*.

The book comprises three parts. The first is situated in two distinct worlds: seventeenth-century colonial America and seventeenth-century Ottoman Mount Lebanon. Makdisi delineates how two patriarchs, Duwayhi and Mather, "constructed mythologies of purity ... from radically different perspectives" in two societies: one creating a "new society," based upon settler-colonial and Christian expansion among the American Indian "heathens," and the other defending an "ancient church" (p. 12) that was embedded in an elaborately constructed web of coexistence within the context of the Islamic Ottoman Empire. In part two, Makdisi charts how eighteenth-century American missions to the Indians transformed into the genesis of a "spiritual American crusade overseas" (p. 1) when the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (AB) dispatched the first American missionaries to Ottoman Lebanon in the early nineteenth century. The ensuing contact and ultimate confrontation with the Maronite authorities and community resulted in the conversion and martyrdom of Shidyaq, who died while imprisoned by the Maronite authorities. Part three charts how, for the American missionaries, the martyrdom of Shidyaq became a "parable of modernization" in which they moved from a more universalist mission to one that "idealized the United States and reoriented the East" (p. 142). This resulted in more overt racialization that was part and parcel of a post-Civil War, expansionary, late-nineteenth-century America. Representing a kind of beacon of hope and, paradoxically, both the "success" and "racial limits" of the American mission is the figure of Butros Bustani, whose "evangelism ... was constructed on the unfulfilled promise of native

agency" (p. 197). Bustani rewrote the narrative of Shidyaq's tragedy and, in doing so, reinterpreted the missionary message of "exclusionary Protestant salvation predicated on the destruction of all other forms of religious belonging" into a more tolerant message that could incorporate other forms of religiosity (p. 205).

This book is a riposte to Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" paradigm, which has defined much American (mis)understanding about the relationship between Americans and Arabs. In tracing the genesis of this relationship to the initial cultural encounter between Americans and Arabs, the missionary experience, Makdisi deconstructs its deeper meanings and assumptions about its modernizing and liberalizing effects. He demonstrates that the encounter changed over time and was the product of multiply intersecting, historically contingent factors, as opposed to static, essentialist notions of civilizational characteristics. The book challenges Western assumptions that Middle Eastern sectarianism constitutes an essential aspect of a "mosaic" of religions and that the arrival of Westerners somehow secularized a religiously divided community by focusing its lens on the different forms of religiosity in Ottoman Lebanon and America that were formative for both societies in this period. Makdisi calls for making "fair comparison" and recognizing the fact that liberalism was not a "completed, uncomplicated, and uncontested problem" in American history (p. 216). The author's skillful use of comparative analysis is one of the signal strengths of this book, but it also raises questions. Parallels drawn between American missionary work among the Indians in colonial America and among the Christian communities in Ottoman Lebanon are not always convincing or analogous. Some of the differences between the fact that Ottoman society had a long, complex, imperial history and America was a young, evolving nation state are not exactly elided, but are not quite acknowledged either. This in no way detracts from the strengths of Makdisi's material and conclusions, however.

Makdisi's meticulously researched, beautifully written book sets a high standard for forthcoming studies on missionaries in the Middle East. He painstakingly analyzes the roots of complex, multidirectional movements of influence, culture, ideas and religiosity that have characterized the contact between East and West, America and the Arab world. The result is an impressive work of transnational history.

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PATRICK HARRIES. *Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa*. Oxford: James Currey. 2007. Pp. xvi, 286. \$26.95.

Patrick Harries begins his book in a moment of communion with the dead: Max Gluckman toasts Henri-Alexandre Junod, the great Swiss missionary and ethnographer of the Thonga people, while standing astride the Lebombo hills looking over the coastal plain in 1936.



Gluckman was one of the doyens of modern professional anthropology, and his peers, shepherded by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Isaac Schapera, replaced Junod and men like him in the academy.

The intellectual context that Harries evokes is cosmopolitan and dynamic, while still attentive to wider African historical trends. He begins with a close study of Swiss ecclesiastical affairs, specifically the affairs of the canton of Vaud. There was in Vaud, as in many other parts of the world, a movement to free Christianity from the state, to develop "conventicles" apart from the "National Evangelical, Reformed Church." But in Vaud, it was this established church that contributed, in an evangelical moment in the 1830s, to creating an "institutional diversity" that augured further divisions between church and state. As the people (re)turned to a more motivational Christianity, fragmented from the wider state-church framework, they also cleaved to *cantonal* patriotism, not nationalism, while producing Vaudois "universal compassion" as a self-defining characteristic. Every canton was different, and when the Neuchâtel Independent Church joined with the Vaudois Free Church, a separate array of factors was at work.

Cantons were themselves further divided in various ways, and it was in particular from Vaud's "dark, watch-making valleys" (p. 27) that the Victorian wave of Swiss missionaries came. The Vaudois Free Church/Neuchâtel Independent alliance (1871) commenced the Swiss Romande Mission and sent abroad the young Junod. With Junod were a highly influential cohort of pioneer missionaries, among them D. F. Ellenberger, Adolph Mabile, and Paul Germond. These linguists, archivists, and oral historians began by promulgating Christianity in parishes in Basutoland (Caledon Valley and Lesotho), the South African Transvaal, the Portuguese colony of South East Africa (Mozambique), the hills along the Limpopo and Nkomati river valleys, and east to Lorenzo Marques, Harries's territory.

Harries wisely emphasizes intercalary figures and mediators along with the missionaries. Junod's essential interpreters were not "pure Ronga" but "Tembe" from a small section of the coast, one a royal nephew literate in Portuguese, English, and possibly Dutch. Another pastor, Yosefa Mhlahala, had to judge the meaning of fervent expressions and possessions and yet remain relevant. In the process, local "possession cults" might safely be brought into Christianity.

Harries notes, but does not fully explore, an enduring connection through Swiss missionaries between "Sotho"-speaking and "Gwamba"-speaking people. Wider Sesotho usages stemmed from the explicitly political expansion under Moshoeshe, who incorporated unrelated factions of people until his death in 1870. In the precincts of the Reverends Mabile, F. Coillard, Germond, and others, other Christians' speech was "turning out" to be Sotho, in ways connected to how wider languages were "turning out" to be Gwamba under the same men.

For Junod, the Thonga were simply an ancient tribe,

possessed of its own spiritual unity and reflecting the rites of "the first races," cultures that lived "20,000 years ago," scarcely changed in their fundamental orientation. But as Harries shows later in his book, "Gwamba" was the Sesotho-othered designation applied to displaced coastal people resettled in the "Speylonken," naming a hodgepodge. It was later subordinated to a framework involving "Thonga" and "Shangaan" and finally divulged Ronga-Thonga under the wider rubric of "Tsonga." Harries's analysis of different aspects of these questions is spread over several chapters, so one has to combine "Christianity" and "Anthropology" and "Language" in an index search, and then rethink a bigger picture.

Harries suggests that the unification of dialects constituting Gwamba helped produce the peculiar nationalism of cantonal and trilingual Switzerland. His evidence from Sunday School coin boxes and penny-saved counting cards is suggestive without being conclusive. Sometimes I found Harries's judgment too fine. "While these Swiss missionaries accepted the protectionist aspects of segregation, they opposed its discriminatory features" (p. 253) suggests a very conservative mode of conceptualizing political power. The end of the book surrounds the academic story with the Segregationist legislation of the 1920s, without finding a modality in which to review them together. The chapter "Politics" is about British anthropology. Surprisingly it is Schapera whom Harries credits for completing the professionalization of anthropology. With Junod and his son, Henri, advocating the creation of a "real, authentic . . . African Christianity" in a framework of conjectural evolutionist scholarship, however, perhaps it was high time.

One of Harries's most penetrating insights is that Swiss clerics exerted control over those aspects of everyday life in southeast Africa that they had lost to the forces of secularism and scientific inquiry in Switzerland. The clerics wanted to master all society, and so produced not only botany and butterfly catalogues but also anthropology, as "practically a missionary science." I would go farther and argue that ethnography was first made in the scope of the acts of comparison intrinsic to evangelism. In emphasizing the genuine rupture of professionalization, Harries risks undervaluing the deep continuities in practice that underwrote and supplied data to non-native-speaking British anthropologists.

Nonetheless, the point is not that sixty-year-old ethnography has to be read somewhat against the grain, but *how*, and indeed how all kindred knowledge must be read. Taking apart Junod's categorical and analytical modes of understanding and sorting through them, Harries shows us exactly how the levered interactions of knowledge, power, and negotiation worked, in the critical era of missionaries' assemblage of ethnographic knowledge.

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MARILYN LAKE and HENRY REYNOLDS. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. (Critical Perspectives on Empire.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 371. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$29.99.

This is an important book, for colonial and imperial historians; world historians; Australian, New Zealand, South African, Canadian, U.S., Chinese, and Japanese historians; and for scholars of human rights. Simply listing its breadth of readership indicates the vast scope of the book and the multiple terrains across which it ranges. Essentially, it is an account of the traffic in ideas constructed by white men during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to bolster what W. E. B. Du Bois called the "color line"—that bundle of discourses, practices, and policies that maintained white privilege and power against the growing African and Asian "threat" in the British dominions and the United States.

Two analytical devices allow such a complex and enormous terrain to be traversed without loss of direction. One is focusing on certain key individuals who engaged in influential dialogues about "race" from their respective sides of the "color line." The effects of writings and speeches made by individuals—ranging from Lowe Kong Meng in Melbourne through Theodore Roosevelt, James Bryce, and Charles Pearson in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia, respectively, to Mohandas K. Gandhi in South Africa and India—are traced as far as possible through their personal and political networks. Once the context has been established in part one of the book, with an account of Chinese migration to the Australian goldfields and the white fears that it generated, such individuals and their texts form the basis of discussion, especially in part two.

The second analytical device is dwelling on sequential episodes of particularly intense debate over the nature and practice of racial difference, each played out in a different "epicenter." The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, violent white responses to Asian immigration to California and British Columbia in the early 1900s, the Pacific Tour of the U.S. Fleet in 1908, and the South African War and its aftermath in the Union of South Africa in 1910—all these episodes were discussed by contemporaries in other sites where either Asian immigration or the balance of power between white settlers and indigenous people preoccupied white men's imaginations. Focusing on each of them in turn allows the narrative to focus on those moments in which transnational ideas were crystallized and policy trends sharpened. With these episodes comprising the heart of part three, part four considers the series of major international conferences before and following World War I at which colonial relations and immigration restrictions were debated. At these conferences, discussions that had previously flowed through books, newspapers, and political gatherings took place face-to-face as white, black, and Asian delegates from across the globe met to discuss the possibilities for a world order

beyond the "color line." Part five is something of an epilogue, introducing the move toward the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the discursive discarding of white supremacy after World War II.

For me, a historical geographer of British colonialism, the lessons learned from reading this book were multiple and compelling: I found, for example, that I need to know far more about U.S.-Japanese relations if I am to understand racial discourse within Great Britain's early twentieth-century empire. For those readers who come at this impressive book from a different perspective—perhaps an Australian historian better aware than I of the role that a perceived Asian threat has played in the formation of national identity, or an American historian more familiar than I with the transnational context and role of Du Bois, some of the lessons that I learned will be redundant. But I would be willing to bet that there will be other lessons here for such readers: other connections between their own "province" and the multiply linked contexts explored here that will shed new light on what they thought they knew.

The faults of this book are relatively easily spotted and equally easily forgiven. The scholarship on each of the places dealt with is uneven, with material on Australia, as one might expect, being the most sophisticated and material on South Africa often constituting popular or outdated histories. This means, for instance, that a recent body of scholarship on attempts to construct a white South Africanist identity in the early twentieth century, although pertinent, is missing. Nevertheless, what is here on South Africa serves a most fundamental purpose: it demonstrates that the region was a significant site both contributing to, and borrowing from, transnational discussions of race by white men who were determined to fend off notions of equality and to protect a white monopoly on power and privilege across the anglophone New World. Accordingly, it would be churlish to devote more space than this to critique. This book is exemplary in demonstrating how interconnected history writing can transcend the limitations of, and add explanatory power to, both nationally focused and traditionally comparative histories.

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ALEXANDER B. DOWNES. *Targeting Civilians in War*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 315. \$29.95.

The notion that wars fought by democracies differ from those fought by states less dependent on the consent of the governed is as old as the idea of democracy itself. So, too, are disputes about how this difference manifests itself. Democracies have been hypothesized to possess reserves of military strength that other regimes are unable to tap. They are also suspected of being unusually subject to failures of political nerve, a disabling squeamishness toward casualties, and a tendency toward institutional paralysis. Democratic governments

in wartime are supposed to be more responsive than others to the pressures of public opinion, an effect that points sometimes toward escalation, sometimes toward moderation and timidity. A large body of literature surrounds the question whether democracies are sufficiently peace-loving by nature to preclude their fighting each other. This proposition holds considerable inspiration for U.S. statesmen, who have made the spread of democracy a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy for the last century and more, though historians may be inclined to skepticism, if only because history has offered relatively few opportunities for conflict between democratic states. Alexis de Tocqueville, contemplating the military potential of the fledgling American republic, proposed that democratic armies were different because it was both hard to get them to start fighting and hard to get them to stop.

Alexander B. Downes's book is not a comprehensive study of the subject announced in its title. It seeks instead to come to grips with a derivative problem arising from the theoretical literature on "democratic peace": are democracies more or less inclined than other belligerents to kill civilians in war? In the end, the author concludes that democracies are more inclined, but only under conditions of strategic "desperation" or when they seek to acquire enemy territory. Few are likely to find this conclusion persuasive, less because anyone seriously doubts the capacity of democracies to wreak havoc than because the book makes no meaningful effort to compare the warfare of democratic states with that of other kinds.

The book also suffers from tone-deafness toward the moral and cognitive complexities of killing in war. Downes offers a reasonable definition of who counts as a civilian—anyone not in uniform or directly involved in the manufacture of munitions—although this definition is actually more stringent than that embodied in international law, a subject he neglects. He considers civilians to have been targeted if they were killed either deliberately or through culpable carelessness. This criterion is also reasonable, though its application can prove extraordinarily difficult in real life, as the case studies that occupy the last two-thirds of the book inadvertently demonstrate. Of these, the most disconcerting is the account of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, which is "coded" as a war of territorial aggression by the Israelis.

The general question why so many noncombatants die in war is nevertheless a good one. Modern governments are distinguished neither by their willingness to inflict civilian casualties nor by their professed concern to avoid doing so. War is a normative concept and has always included ideas about protected categories of innocents whose lives should be spared. Yet part of the promise of modernity was that such ideas would have a better chance of being realized in practice: if only life were organized in more rational and publically responsible ways, the world would become a more peaceful place—a dream that has so far failed to come true.

Democracies have stood out more by virtue of their

willingness to embrace this promise than by their capacity to fulfill it. That capacity has been improving, however, due in large part to changing perceptions of who the enemy is. For at least a century prior to the end of the Cold War, belligerent governments, democratic or not, tended to view their adversaries as integral wholes, nations-in-arms against which any form of violence was justified if it threw sand in the gears of the enemy's war machine. Nowadays the United States, at least, scarcely views its enemies as social entities at all, but prefers to regard them as "regimes" that have effectively taken their own populations hostage, and which should be fought by methods designed to sever the supposedly fragile threads that connect state and society. This is an idea worth contemplating, not least because it may be wrong. Opponents of democracies should not count on a reluctance to use force on the part of democratic states. It would be no less wrong for the democratic world to imagine that its opponents are little more than deracinated criminal gangs, whose toppling can be accomplished by the kind of highly discriminating violence on which democracies pride themselves, but which, as Downes shows, they are perfectly able to set aside when the chips are down.

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LORENZ M. LÜTHI. *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 375. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.95.

A reader of both Russian and Chinese, Lorenz M. Lüthi provides fascinating depth and detail to an unstable Sino-Soviet alliance shaped by strong and ambitious personalities, nationalist sensitivities, cultural misunderstandings, and the perhaps inevitable clash between two societies at very different stages in "socialist" history. China and the Soviet Union were headed in different directions, with Nikita Khrushchev committed to de-Stalinization and further engagement with the United States while Mao Zedong was pushing for "more political and economic development along Revolutionary Stalinist lines" (p. 47). Lüthi returns often to the problem of the ideological nature of the Sino-Soviet dispute (evident in the two contrasting models of socialist development), the Stalin question, and imperialism and the Americans (pp. 8–12, 345). Along the way, he carefully describes the central intersecting moments of Soviet and Chinese political history, from Mao's travails in Moscow in December 1949 to the denunciation of Marshal Peng Dehuai at the Lushan Plenums in 1959 for his supposed sympathy for the Soviet Union (pp. 31–36, 123–135). Lüthi continues the story through the abrupt Soviet withdrawal of its advisers from China in July 1960 to the early stages of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. A chorus of Chinese historians and memoir writers continue to blame the Soviet withdrawal for decades of China's economic difficul-

ties, while Russian scholars and memoir writers generally remain disturbed by what they consider the callous Chinese misuse of their "selfless" political and economic aid. Lüthi considers the sudden withdrawal something of a Soviet tactical blunder, as it gave the Chinese a "convenient pretext . . . to deflect blame for the self-induced economic collapse" (p. 176).

Lüthi's greater familiarity with the Chinese materials allows him to describe best the importance of the Soviet factor in the disturbing evolution of Chinese politics on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. Chinese memoir writers are keen to address high-level episodes of diplomatic exchange and personality conflict, and their new insights into the character of Mao are understandably intriguing to scholars of revolutionary China. For Lüthi as well, Mao's role was central to the ill-fated relationship. The author reasonably turns our attention to the importance of Mao's destructive radicalism and delusional perception of China's future strength and role in international affairs. Like other scholars of China, such as Thomas J. Christensen, Roderick MacFarquhar, and Chen Jian, Lüthi emphasizes the close relationship between Mao's efforts to mobilize the population and developments in Chinese foreign policy. Liu Shaoqi, of course, eventually was denounced as "China's Khrushchev." China scholars will be intrigued by Lüthi's research in the increasingly inaccessible foreign policy archive in Moscow, which greatly enhances the narrative of Chinese politics on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. Figures such as Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, and others central to the early unfolding of the Cultural Revolution were closely engaged with the problem of Soviet "revisionism" (p. 237).

Might scholars of Soviet history similarly pay more attention to China? The Soviets and the Chinese were in an intense debate about the stages of socialist development and the time frame for the glorious transition to "communism." The Soviet notion of "catch up and surpass" (*dognat' i peregnat'*) that was directed at the United States, the ideological pronouncements unveiled at party congresses, the continuing Stalin problem, and Soviet foreign policy generally always unfolded with China and the "Great Friendship" either front and center or at least in the background. The process of "re-Stalinization" in the Soviet 1960s was implemented by figures such as Yuri Andropov, Mikhail Suslov, and others who were still bruised by the split and keenly aware of the impact of reform upon the broader bloc.

Lüthi's single-minded focus on the highest levels of foreign policy exchange in the socialist bloc prevents him from considering other kinds of archival materials that might complicate his conclusions about the importance of ideology in the socialist world. What was the relationship between the diverse practices and arrangements of the "friendship" and the angry and even bizarre exchanges between important figures such as Suslov, Andropov, Deng Xiaoping, and Chen Yun? The "friendship" of the 1950s meant the initiation of a vast series of exchanges and collaborative relationships be-

tween universities, cultural institutions, metallurgical factories, and newspapers that were often about far more than the charged ideological issues that divided the important leaders at the apex of their hierarchical political systems. The Soviet administrative system was frequently exploitative, at home and in the far reaches of the bloc, and incapable of responding to the diverse concerns that made up what the Chinese called "socialism with Chinese characteristics." Socialist bloc practices deserve as much attention as socialist theory. Lüthi offers new insight into numerous foreign policy relationships central to the Cold War, while also directing our attention to a series of still unexplored issues pertinent to the vast socialist bloc and the fascinating alliance between the Russians and the Chinese.

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ROBERT H. KARGON and ARTHUR P. MOLELLA. *Invented Edens: Techno-Cities of the Twentieth Century*. (Lemelson Center Studies in Invention and Innovation.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 190. \$24.95.

Robert H. Kargon and Arthur P. Molella's study traces the work of thinkers and builders who tried to harness technology to construct better, more livable cities and towns. They do not aim at a strict intellectual history of these ideas or an architectural history of projects built. Instead, their goal is to explore how these ideas are developed in the real world and how the act of trying to bring a utopian idea to life complicates this process.

Kargon and Molella focus on thinkers, scholarly and otherwise, who proposed a planned society that would make the most of both the rural and urban and created a new technological hybrid: the garden city. Beginning in England with the Garden City movement, then moving both to the United States and to Italy, the book traces the ways politicians, architects, and others sought to create a utopian vision of housing, technology, and everyday life.

The book presents a series of case studies of what would seem today to be "New Urbanism" city design. All of the communities profiled are small (under 100,000 people) and designed with a mix of technologically based industry, parks and public spaces, and housing in belts around the central business area.

Each of the studies has enough depth to satisfy specialists in the field but not too much to slow the narrative or cloud the analysis. Kargon and Molella are also astute in their discussions of the ways that abstract ideas change when they are applied to real communities. They devote an early chapter to Torviscosa, a model city designed by industrialists in Italy and built by the fascist government that ultimately became a "pleasant industrial town," not a utopian model of industry and agriculture (p. 66).

The same dynamics can be seen at work in Oak Ridge, a city in Tennessee created to house the vast workforce brought to the area to work on the Manhat-



tan Project. Designed by architects of the firm Skidmore, Owings and Merrill to approximate the "American small town," the city mushroomed under population pressure, as the Manhattan Project drew more workers to man its uranium production operation. In the postwar years, Oak Ridge became a model of what the small, atomic-age city should look like. With the arms race commencing, the small, spread-out city became a model for civil defense as well. The development of the hydrogen bomb made big cities such as New York seem like easy targets for enemy weapons, while the sprawl of the suburban area would allow a greater chance of survival.

The postwar examples of the Italian industrialist Adriano Olivetti and the city of Ciudad Guayana in Venezuela both show the difficulties that thinkers faced in bringing their ideas about country and city living to real life urban planning. In postwar Italy, Olivetti tried to bring urban planning to the town of Ivrea with a design which privileged communal, rather than individual, values. In Venezuela, the Harvard/MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies attempted to create a new design that combined mining and industry with a livable environment for workers and citizens nearby.

In neither case did the planning match the situation at hand. Kargon and Molella argue that Olivetti's designs were obsolete at the time they were to be implemented, based on a vision of the past, not the future. The Harvard/MIT project, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, not Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela, floundered under the weight of industrial and residential development. Rather than a model city, the plan resulted in an industrial area to which workers struggled daily to commute.

Kargon and Molella end their book in Celebration, Florida, with the Walt Disney Company's attempt to create a model techno-community in the shadow of its amusement empire. Rather than an epilogue, Kargon and Molella use Celebration as a site to build their final argument of the book. While the other technological utopias in the book suffered from the difficulties of making concrete the values of communal living, Celebration is able to elude this difficulty by creating an entertainment experience rather than a community. Drawing on Americans' nostalgia for small town life that most have never experienced, Celebration, the authors argue, is able to manage residents' feelings about community development by making people feel they are living in the utopian garden city sketched in the first chapter.

Kargon and Molella's book is a work that will surprise the reader. Those who are familiar with one or more of the case studies will be interested in the authors' analyses and use of sources. Readers and students more broadly interested in the development of cities and technology will be struck by the sheer range of material that the authors tackle.

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## ASIA

MICHAEL KEEVAK. *The Story of a Stele: China's Nestorian Monument and Its Reception in the West, 1625-1916*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 195. \$46.50.

This *is* quite a story. In 1625, as Jesuit missionaries were finding some points of real connection among the Ming elite and had made a few distinguished converts, a large stele was accidentally unearthed near Xi'an in Shaanxi province, dating from 781, which recorded the favors of several Tang emperors to the "Bright Teaching" (*mingjiao*) and described at some length the basics of this teaching. Li Zhizao, one of the most prominent Roman Catholic converts, and the Jesuits recognized at once that this teaching constituted a form of Christianity. For the Jesuits this was literally a godsend; they had endured much searching questioning from Chinese as to why, if Christianity was of such central importance to mankind, God had not made sure its message reached such a centrally important place as China (p. 12). Now they had an answer. But what was this other non-Chinese writing on the stele?

It was Syriac, the liturgical language of the Nestorian Christian tradition, then still a major presence in the Middle East and in South India. The Jesuits, of course, longed for evidence of the earlier presence in China of the true Petrine succession and Catholic teaching and thus made as little as possible of the stele's Nestorian content. The small cross at the top of the tablet, surrounded by clouds and comparable to motifs both in South Asian Nestorian monuments and in non-Christian Chinese religions, was magnified and simplified in Jesuit representations.

The text fell into the hands of a leading Jesuit expert on Near Eastern languages, Athanasius Kircher. Modern writers describe Kircher as "the last man who knew everything," and, like everyone who knows everything, he got a lot wrong. For him, all civilizations could be traced to the Egyptians and the Greeks; the Chinese were a cultural colony of Egypt, their characters distorted hieroglyphs. The Xi'an stele was the centerpiece of his big *China Illustrata* (1667). One of the very few texts available with an adequate explanatory apparatus, it was much studied by Europeans who were curious about the Chinese language, many of whom built huge structures of misguided interpretation on very slender bases of text and understanding. The stele's powerful appeal was based, in Michael Keevak's nice summary, on the sense that "it was both antipodally foreign and yet still potentially Christian, impossibly difficult and tortuous but still somehow reducible to the realm of the familiar" (p. 59). Many scholars found reason to doubt the monument's authenticity, often because they did not trust Jesuits. After 1870, it received more reliable scholarly treatments from James Legge, Paul Pelliot, Saeki Tomi, and others, but Keevak ends with a summary of a recent New Age-style book that makes the stele one of the key texts for a lost "Taoist Christianity."

Keevak's telling of this story is based on remarkable



digging in obscure sources in several languages. His close readings often are acute. His subject is the Western reception of the stele, not the actual text and what it shows us about Nestorians and others in the Tang. He confesses that his Chinese is not good enough to really get a grip on the complexities of the text. This leads to a curious bias in his telling of the story: the misunderstandings of the text are interesting, but the improvements in understanding contributed by major scholars are not. He and his editors did not see fit to include a full text of one of the more reliable recent translations. But from the first Jesuit reports on, many or most who wrote about the text grappled with its Chinese. The oddities of Kircher's larger interpretive frame should not blind us to the wonderful apparatus he gave his readers for dealing with the text.

The difficulties are compounded by Keevak's belief that premodern Europeans were separated from East Asia by a "Great Wall of Europe, a kind of mental limit that prevented not only armchair travelers but even real ones from being able in any true sense to compare cultures" (p. 17). This interpretation of cultural interaction between East and West, dominant some decades ago, is now being called into question not only by theoreticians but by case studies of European contacts with early modern Asia conducted by Joan-Pau Rubiés, Nicolas Standaert, and others. Keevak cites none of this literature. His summaries of missionary activity and Ming relations with Europeans are missing many important recent sources and contain some major misstatements. Especially startling is his failure to notice Standaert's edited work, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume 1: 635–1800* (2001), which contains forty-two pages of discussion of Christianity under the Tang, mostly centered on the stele.

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LINDA L. BARNES. *Needles, Herbs, Gods, and Ghosts: China, Healing, and the West to 1848*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 458. \$49.95.

This book describes how Chinese healing traditions were transmitted to the West from the thirteenth century until 1848. It attempts to expand beyond a history narrowly focused on Chinese medicine to an account of "cross-cultural interactions" (p. 2). Linda L. Barnes has compiled a vast amount of detail into chapters which unfold in chronological order. With the aid of the index, a reader can easily locate information on Chinese medical practices, such as moxibustion. The book's detail makes it a useful historical reference work on Western interpretations of Chinese medicine. Barnes is particularly concerned with Daoism, which few Westerners understood. One exception was the Jesuit Jean Joseph Marie Amiot, who served in China from 1750 until his death in 1793. Barnes believes that Amiot's perspective was so profoundly influenced by the Chinese worldview that he represented a "quasi-conversion" to Chinese religious and medical thought (p. 352).

While the author's detail is extensive, her organization of that detail is as ambiguous as the book's title. Instead of resolving contradictions, she confuses social philosophy with logical rigor by holding "these paradoxical processes together, rather than privileging one over the other" (p. 349). Her conclusions are particularly weak and consist of defining six kinds of Sino-Western "hybridity" (pp. 351–353). Barnes's attempt to integrate this information into the broader framework of Sino-Western history is hindered by her lack of knowledge of the field. Her foreign-language proficiency is inadequate to study cross-cultural transmissions. Barely twenty of the almost 1,400 titles in her bibliography are in languages other than English and French, and none at all are in Chinese. In extensively quoting the influential China Jesuit Matteo Ricci, Barnes relies solely on the journal significantly edited by Ricci's confrere, Nicolas Trigault, rather than the more authoritative *Fonti Ricciane* (1942–1949), edited by Pasquale M. D'Elia, or Ricci's famous and important work, *Tianzhu shiyi*, which has been translated into English as *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (1985).

In a book that attempts to be comprehensive in its treatment of Sino-Western history, the absence of references to important works by contemporary scholars such as Ad Dudink, Nicolas Standaert, and the late Erik Zürcher is notable. In her summary of Jesuit attempts to introduce anatomical models to China, the author is unaware of the Chinese translation of Ambroise Paré's *Anatomie universelle du corps humain* (1561). A translation by seventeenth-century Jesuits was recently discovered in the Beijing University Library and is discussed in an article by Standaert in the 1999 issue of the *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*. In her extensive bibliography, Barnes fails to list a single article from this specialized journal founded in 1979 and dedicated to advancing the study of Sino-Western history.

Barnes's book contains errors of fact and interpretation and is poorly served by an inconsistent method of annotation that mixes a few endnotes with MLA-style citations (often without page numbers). Some errors are minor, such as claiming that Macau was settled by the Portuguese in 1511 (p. 36), when the most reliable sources give 1557. She alleges that the Jesuits were founded in 1534 (p. 37), when the most dependable history states that the brotherhood was formed in January 1537, with the pope's approval of the order coming in 1540. The Christian benefactress Candida Xu was not Xu Guangqi's daughter (p. 47) but his granddaughter.

Most books contain minor errors, and these might be excused were it not for more serious deficiencies. This book is curiously dated by the paradigm that the author uses for studying Sino-Western history. In explaining how Chinese healing traditions were "imagined" (p. 1) across different periods and settings, Barnes perpetuates an approach used in books published from the 1960s to the 1990s, such as Raymond Dawson's *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization* (1967) and Colin Mackerras's

*Western Images of China* (1989). More recent scholarship is more likely to offer explanations of the specific historical causes of distorted interpretations rather than to attribute them to vague imaginings or mistaken conceptions.

An example of Barnes's more serious deficiencies is expressed in her comment: "The Jesuits and other observers did not understand that, in China, studying history constituted a sacred project . . . 'Didactic history,' like divination, foretold the future 'as a record of pre-facto portents' (Keightley, 1984, 21)" (p. 76). Barnes seems to be unaware of the radical theory of Figurism, developed by certain leading China Jesuits, which claimed that the Chinese classics should be read as didactic history that foretold the future as a record of pre-facto portents of Christian revelation. Elsewhere she vaguely describes Figurist theory (pp. 132–133), without recognizing that the theory belongs to Figurism.

A peer reviewer versed in Sino-Western history could have helped the author improve her manuscript. One feels that twenty-five years of research on the author's part should have merited at least that much assistance from the Harvard University Press.

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JOYA CHATTERJI. *The Spoils of Partition: Bengal and India, 1947–1967*. (Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society, number 15.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 342. \$99.00.

"Partitions driven by the intention to maintain or restore the *status quo ante*," in the concluding words of this authoritative study, "seldom achieve their purpose" (p. 317). As Joya Chatterji's book explores, this failure to live up to expectations was precisely the subsequent experience of those who engineered the partitioning of Bengal in the period prior to Indian independence. Its division into East and West, with East Bengal becoming part of Pakistan and West Bengal going to India, was no foregone conclusion in the constitutional maneuverings that had occupied the weeks and months leading up to August 1947. Rather, this division was the outcome of political calculations and compromises undertaken by local, Bengal-based politicians whose interests coincided, at least in the short run, with those of the All-India Congress leadership and a majority in New Delhi's Constituent Assembly. But with the creation of West Bengal came a refashioned political landscape, whose political coordinates increasingly failed to intersect with the expectations of those—that is, members of the Bengal Hindu *bhadralok*—who had pressed most assiduously for it. Rather than the undisputed political masters of the new state, they found themselves challenged by the rise of new groups in Bengali society, which were either directly produced by, or indirectly the outcome of, the impact of partition.

Chatterji's first section, "Hopes and Fears," provides the nuts and bolts of how and why Bengal was partitioned in 1947. It highlights the considerations and

compromises that produced the final dividing line between East and West Bengal, a division that, she argues, resulted just as much, if not more, from the efforts of local Hindu politicians as it did from all-India policymaking at the center. The author then focuses on the practical outcome of these boundary decisions and their impact on the clout that Bengali Congress politicians were able, or (more accurately) unable, to wield in the Constituent Assembly as it worked on producing independent India's new federal arrangements. It is very clear that West Bengal faced a huge identity crisis in the early years following independence. Instead of the pivotal role that the region had previously played, it now found itself increasingly relegated to a marginalized position on the periphery of all-India politics.

The second section, "The Bengal Diaspora," shifts the focus to the experiences of the people whose lives were disrupted by the partitioning of the province. It addresses the shortfall in our awareness of what the arrival of often, although not necessarily, destitute Hindus from East Bengal meant for their own lives and for the new state of West Bengal more generally. As Chatterji makes very clear, it is important not to think of partition-related migration as confined to the immediate period straddling August 1947. In the case of Bengal, as with other parts of the subcontinent, people continued to migrate for many years thanks to lingering communal uncertainties and actual violence. Hence the arrival of refugees along with all the related problems of resettlement and rehabilitation were strung out over decades. Even less well-known are the experiences of those Muslims who stayed on in West Bengal after independence. Surprisingly few Muslims migrated from West to East Bengal, and how those who remained coped with becoming a minority in the new state, how far they were "assimilated into, or more frequently alienated from, its social and political fabric" (p. 3), and the kinds of daily problems that they experienced combine to make this a particularly revealing aspect of the study as a whole. So often explorations of partitions concentrate on the people who move for whatever reason. But as the case of West Bengali Muslims underlines, much can also be learned from the experiences of those who stay put.

The final section, "The Politics of a Partitioned State," charts the slow but steady decline of West Bengal's Congress ministries. Increasingly unstable, lacking in cohesion, and losing the ability to influence decisions in New Delhi, the Congress found itself by 1967 "cast into the political wilderness" (p. 259). In stark contrast, the same changed circumstances provided parties on the left with new opportunities. Taking advantage of the demographic adjustments as well as the many grievances produced by partition, they were able to increase their electoral support to the point that Congress fell spectacularly from power in the state elections of 1967, ushering in a series of coalition ministries headed up by the Left Front.

Chatterji's study succeeds in demonstrating just how far this region of the subcontinent was as crucial a part

of the wider partition “story” as places—better known perhaps—further north and west. “Partition,” this book underscores, cannot be confined either to the Punjab or to a few months of communal violence in the dying days of British rule. Very clearly, its significance shaped political, social, and economic developments in West Bengal for years to come, and not necessarily in the ways for which its architects had hoped and planned.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

A. J. B. JOHNSTON. *Endgame 1758: The Promise, the Glory, and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade*. (France Overseas: Studies in Empire and Decolonization.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. 365. \$19.95.

No scholar could be better qualified to recount the final years of France's great North American fortress and naval base than A. J. B. Johnston. For years staff historian for Parks Canada and the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, he has written a half-dozen books dealing with life among the *Louisbourgeois* in dimensions ranging from war to social organization to religion to cookery. This book is the culmination of them all.

Founded in 1713 on the eastern shore of Île Royale (Cape Breton Island), Louisbourg was at once “fortress, seaport, and community” (p. 4), a base from which the French Navy could dominate the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the principal port of the North Atlantic cod fishery. Its elaborate fortifications and harbor facilities cost a fortune—by the 1740s, Île Royale annually absorbed about twenty percent of the French colonial budget—but during peacetime Louisbourg more than repaid the investment as a supplier of fish and a transshipment port for the French Atlantic empire. Wartime, however, revealed Louisbourg's weaknesses. As the New England merchants who traded clandestinely with it well knew, Île Royale and the nearby Île Saint-Jean (today's Prince Edward Island) did not produce agricultural surpluses large enough to feed Louisbourg; most of the foodstuffs consumed in the town came from the northern British colonies, especially Nova Scotia. In time of war France had both to keep substantial naval forces on station there and maintain a transatlantic supply pipeline to sustain the town's inhabitants and defenders, or risk losing the fortress to blockade and siege.

The ragtag New England expedition that seized Louisbourg in 1745 proved its vulnerability, and when at length the Seven Years' War broke out there was no doubt that the British would try to duplicate that earlier success. Johnston likens the decade between the return of Louisbourg to France at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and Britain's second conquest of the fortress in 1758 to the three phases of a chess match. The game

opened in 1749 with the French spending great sums to rebuild the fortress's defenses and to maintain a larger garrison there than ever before, while the British spent with equal urgency to build a counterpart naval base at Halifax, Nova Scotia. During the middle game of 1750–1755 France and Britain remained formally at peace but prepared for war. Mounting tensions exploded in 1755 when a New England provincial expedition arrived in Nova Scotia to help the 300 redcoats already stationed in the colony besiege and destroy a pair of “encroaching” French forts on the Chignecto Isthmus. With that mission accomplished, the New Englanders went on to round up and deport the colony's Acadian population *en masse*. These “French Neutrals” had always been Louisbourg's main provisioners; forced migration now put Louisbourg's future in peril.

When the kings of Britain and France exchanged declarations of war in May and June 1756 the endgame began. Insofar as both sides understood Louisbourg as the sole barrier to a British invasion of the St. Lawrence Valley and an attack on Québec, the fortress became a focus of military operations. Britain and France dispatched powerful squadrons to the region, and Louisbourg's defenders strengthened its defensive works (always less formidable than they looked) and fortified possible landing sites along Île Royale's coast. Disorganization in the British war effort precluded invasion in 1756, and the arrival of three French naval squadrons at Louisbourg in 1757 kept a powerful British expedition from proceeding beyond Halifax. But in the following year Louisbourg's luck ran out.

Johnston devotes the last half his book to a narrative of the 1758 British expedition against Île Royale and the seven-week siege that ended Louisbourg's existence as a French colony. He tells this brutal story well, touching on every aspect of life on both sides of the lines as he recounts in detail the hazards of amphibious landings, the mechanics of siegecraft and defense, and the work and sufferings of civilians and military personnel within the *enceinte* of the fortress. The blow-by-blow quality of the narrative in these four chapters is a strength of Johnston's book in that it conveys the terror, boredom, and suffering of eighteenth-century siege warfare extremely well. It is also a weakness insofar as the daily content of the story makes for a digressive account in which analysis repeatedly submerges beneath waves of vivid description.

How readers respond to Johnston's work will depend largely on whether they value descriptive narration over argumentative exposition, but no one should doubt the value of this history of Louisbourg's final decade. Johnston's research is exhaustive and impeccably grounded in French and British primary sources; his prose is lucid; his interpretations are modest, plausible, and humane. His account of Louisbourg's fall will remain the standard narrative for a long, long time.

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DANIEL SAMSON. *The Spirit of Industry and Improvement: Liberal Government and Rural-Industrial Society, Nova Scotia, 1790–1862*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 432. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$34.95.

Daniel Samson's survey of rural Nova Scotia history is a sprawling and ambitious effort to fuse the story of nineteenth-century state formation, an abiding preoccupation in Canadian history writing, and a broader cultural and social history of how modernity arrived in the countryside in the Maritime region. Unlike Samson's earlier work, which is more firmly situated in the market transition debate, this examination of modernity's uneven arrival is less concerned with the material signature of the "transition" than the discursive evidence of a liberalizing world view. To Samson, the key question is not whether the state ingested the central ideas of classical liberalism but how widely distributed the liberalizing agenda reached into and emerged from local practice. Samson's contention, ultimately, is that by shifting our lenses a little further into the countryside, we will see that the emergence of civil society owes as much to the interaction of rural elites with a middle-class government, and the vision of improvement they promoted, as it did to the opposition to imperial institutions or centralized control. The province-wide monopoly on mining activity granted to the Duke of York's company, the so-called General Mining Association (GMA), was an important lightning rod for anti-Tory sentiment. But the ideas of improvement and progress had distinct roots in the material and discursive *verité* of rural life in Nova Scotia.

The decision to integrate a history of early mining and land settlement may offend some well observed boundaries, but in this case the results are rewarding. The story begins in the early chapters by laying out the rather tenuous efforts of the colonial administration to establish a liberal order in Nova Scotia. The largest impediment to the kind of energetic, self-directed, development of landholding communities seems to have been the lethargy of the land surveys. The reluctance apparently owed a great deal to the colonial officials in London, who wished to have a field of emigration for Britain's laboring poor, yet did not want to give away land and mineral rights until lucrative coal lands were identified. The resulting confusion led to large scale squatting, such as on Cape Breton, where Samson suggests half of the population lived on the land to which they had no formal title. Samson also conducts his own micro investigations, drawing samples of census manuscripts from two of the more productive farming areas in northern Nova Scotia, the West River and East River of Pictou County. What Samson finds is a story familiar in other highland settings in eastern North America: comfortable farms were carved out of the lowland river valleys and farms in the back concessions were hard-scrabble affairs. Samson is eager to demonstrate that in spite of the lack of middling farms, farm life was essential to the rural-industrial mix taking shape in the

Nova Scotia countryside. Without access to farmland, to raise a few animals and foodstuffs, most miners and mining families (at least, those not affiliated with the GMA's higher wage company towns) could not sustain themselves.

So where did ideas of improvement emerge from in this setting? One might think that the imperial monopoly and its suppression of industrial activity would make anti-corporate or anti-imperial sentiment the basis for liberalizing ideas. Yet, while Samson acknowledges the importance of undoing the restraint of trade for the merchant community, he situates the main constituency for liberalism among agricultural improvers. These were local elites, both merchants and wealthy farmers, who advocated the adoption of progressive, mechanized, and specialized agriculture. Samson acknowledges that these ideas fell on deaf ears and offers a telling quote from an "Experienced farmer" who questioned the improvers call for a husbandry focused on small grains. Judging by the experience of the Acadians on the isthmus before them, and farmers since, the "improvers" were probably misguided to think that Nova Scotia could replicate the achievements of English agriculture; suggesting to the reader that improvers were more interested in celebrating their own achievements than in recognizing the natural limitations of the world around them. In this sense, their ambitions were whiggish and patrician rather than scientific and liberal, embedded as Samson shrewdly points out in a British or Atlantic worldview that believed more in hierarchy and social order than in lifting barriers to self-improvement. This tension is better acknowledged in the conclusion than in the substantive chapters. While it is hard to accept the argument that 19th century agricultural improvers in Nova Scotia were liberals, readers will come away with a richer understanding of the rural dimensions of state and society that emerged from this distinct blend of agrarian, industrial and imperial ambitions.

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PHILIP J. PAULY. *Fruits and Plains: The Horticultural Transformation of America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 336. \$39.95.

The history of American horticulture, Philip J. Pauly argues, is often trivialized as nothing "more than an ornamental subject" (p. 1). His book is a plea for taking seriously the landscapes, gardens, and prairies built over the past 250 years because they are the product of conscious choices and conflicts that are a part of the American identity and that reflect a number of basic themes of U.S. history, such as "exceptionalism, tensions between local and national interests, the problem of sectionalism, and the roles of social and technical elites in a democracy" (p. 8). In short, we are what we plant.

As this excellent book makes clear, horticulture's history is no simple story. Its characters include, among



others, Thomas Jefferson, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frederick Law Olmsted, Liberty Hyde Bailey, and Aldo Leopold. It also includes Concord grapes and Japanese cherry trees, Hessian flies and hyacinths—or, as Pauly emphasizes, the natives, the naturalized, and the aliens. Above all, it is the story of nurserymen, gardeners, landscape architects, scientists, and government administrators who transformed the American landscape either in search of profit or in search of some sense of the common good. Sometimes animated by goodwill, sometimes by prejudice, arrogance, and hubris, the horticulturalists often tried to control what could not be controlled. But they also built networks that bridged social classes and regions, and they connected public and private, national and local, amateurs and scientists.

American horticulture, much like American democracy, began as a tenuous, troubled experiment. Pauly opens with Jefferson and his fears about whether Old World plant species could survive—let alone flourish—in North America. Eighteenth-century naturalists predicted that the New World climate would mean cultural degeneracy. These desires and fears suggest the degree to which “American independence was . . . a biohistorical event” (p. 32). Such concerns persisted into the nineteenth century, a time when nurserymen, botanic gardens, horticultural societies, a gardening press, and early scientists forged the nation’s first organized horticultural system. What, they asked, could be imported, adapted, and improved? Fruit specialists cultivated apples, pears, strawberries, and grapes. Some tree culturists introduced commercially viable species; others sought to restore an indigenous *silva* on deforested lands. Over time, the efforts to introduce and cultivate new species became the work of experts and particularly scientists and bureaucrats in the federal government: first within the Patent Office and then within the Department of Agriculture and its affiliated land-grant colleges.

An important part of organized horticulture was a quest to construct landscapes such as city parks, the gardens of private estates, and public arboretums. Constructing these sites generated debates over what was natural, what was modern, and what was desirable. The battles over vegetation in New York’s Central Park and Boston’s Back Bay Fens, Pauly argues, reflected tensions “between central European effervescence and Puritan restraint and attachment to the familiar” (p. 179). Just as important was the fight to keep out undesirable aliens. The first of these was the Hessian Fly, which ravaged wheat crops in the late eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, invasive species pitted amateur gardeners eager to import exotic species against commercial interests and scientific experts. Pressed by the ambitious and politically connected entomologist Charles Marlatt, Congress passed the Plant Quarantine Act of 1912 and established the Federal Horticultural Board. The act’s aim, Pauly suggests, was horticultural self-sufficiency and the exclusion of unwanted aliens. It bestowed on the Federal Horticultural Board extensive

powers “to limit the ‘horticultural freedom’ of individual Americans” (p. 153).

The Florida climate, meanwhile, offered radically different possibilities. Harriet Beecher Stowe hoped that the production of fruit might facilitate the building of communities and the advance of reform. Henry Flagler had different ideas for the land and set about building luxury hotels and a tropical paradise. Meanwhile, Marlatt and other federal entomologists launched a full-scale fight against pests and achieved near “totalitarian” control as they battled water hyacinths, citrus canker, and the Mediterranean fruit fly.

In the twentieth century, there were still more turns. Horticulture became widely accepted, Pauly contends, but also broadly diffused, and it therefore ceased to be a cohesive movement. Scientific pest management had become a field unto itself and modern-day successors emerged, most notably the restoration ecologists who sought to recreate prairie landscapes. Pauly tells the story of prairie restoration by examining the work of such figures as ecologist Aldo Leopold in Wisconsin and on the Konza Prairie in Kansas. Restoring tall grass prairies, he suggests, is a continuation of a 12,000-year story of human intervention in the culturing of nature.

This is a richly detailed and learned study that puts forth an intriguing way of understanding our past and the environment we have built.

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WILLIAM PENCAK. *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 321. \$29.95.

William Pencak’s book, which was shortlisted for the National Jewish Book Council’s award in American Jewish history, joins a growing body of work that explores the experiences of Jews in America prior to the mass migrations of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Pencak brings a career’s worth of scholarly experience in the field of early America to his subject. He focuses primarily on what might be called a political and institutional history of early American Jewish communities and their interactions with their non-Jewish fellow citizens of both the British Empire and the early republic, never losing sight of how tenuous Jewish life was during the first 150 years of American Jewish settlement.

The book is divided into five main chapters, each considering a different early American Jewish community. As one might expect, the chapters on New York and Philadelphia are the most detailed, but the chapters on Newport, Charleston, and Savannah are possibly even more intriguing and required the most creative research. Pencak’s thoughts on the relative successes or failures of these communities—Newport, for example, ceased to house a Jewish community by around 1800—make for thought-provoking reading and demonstrate both the opportunities and limitations Jewish migrants to America faced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



One of Pencak's major scholarly concerns is the presence of antisemitism in early America and the shape it took in various times and places. He argues that antisemitism was persistent throughout the colonial period, although less violent than in other parts of the Atlantic world, and that its economic roots might have been more important than its religious roots. Most interesting to this reader was his detailed discussion of the role of Jewish loyalties during the American Revolution. Just as the cities Pencak discusses were home to both patriots and loyalists, the Jewish community encompassed an array of political perspectives. The visibility of Jewish patriots, even if vaguely mythologized as in the case of Haym Salomon, contributed to a liberalization of attitudes toward Jews, encapsulated most famously in an oft-quoted exchange of letters between George Washington and Jewish congregations throughout the new United States of America. Pencak follows this issue through the Federalist period and makes a strong case that both Federalists and anti-Federalists, though for different reasons, used Jews as rhetorical figures to serve their own purposes.

This quietly ambitious book is based on a combination of synthesis and original research. Pencak incorporates some material on the early American novel but otherwise, by the author's own admission, hews closely to a political narrative that devotes relatively little attention to social or gender relations. The decision to structure the book as a series of case studies of five cities leads to some repetition but also allows for comparisons of trends such as the establishment of religious congregations and the relationship between the cities and their hinterlands/frontiers (e.g., Philadelphia and Lancaster). Pencak makes valuable contributions to American urban and political history as well as American Jewish history.

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FRANK PROCHASKA. *The Eagle and the Crown: Americans and the British Monarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 239. \$40.00.

The nature of power and authority is a persistent topic of historical research, but most of this research is not transnational. Frank Prochaska, a skillful commentator on the history of philanthropy in Britain, has already studied the monarchy in *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (1995). In his new book, he provides the perspective of American perceptions of the British monarchy. These are perceptions that throw light more on tensions within the United States than on the monarchy itself, although they also provide a way to approach Anglo-American relations. In treating these topics, Prochaska, writing with effective economy and considerable wit, produces a first-rate and most interesting study that might have benefited, however, from a consideration of the American response to other monarchies. He shows how American interest in the appeal of hereditary monarchy somewhere else provided

an opportunity to bask in republican self-satisfaction. The abdication of real power by the British monarchy in the nineteenth century considerably helped in this process, as it proved possible to dissociate the monarch from policies and ministers deemed unsatisfactory. The British monarchy also provided a frame of reference for critics of presidential pretensions, real or more commonly alleged, in the United States, although that frame of reference is not pertinent for modern discussion about the modern imperial presidency.

Prochaska argues that, at the outset, the similarities between the two political systems encouraged a reconciliation between the two previous combatants and thus prepared generations of Americans for a love affair with the British royal family. His presentation of Britain as a disguised republic does not do justice to the nature of its political system, especially the continuing power of the monarch into the 1830s. Moreover, some Americans were more critical than Prochaska suggests. The views of Richard Rush are cited from his book published in 1833, but he wrote far more critical letters at the time of his diplomatic mission to London, for example to James Madison.

Prochaska is more perceptive in finding an element of disguised monarchy about the American system. This was scarcely surprising, as the mid-seventeenth-century English republic had swiftly reverted, with Oliver Cromwell, to a monarchical form, and the same was to be the case with a host of revolutions in the Atlantic world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, including those in France and Haiti.

Prochaska also suggests that the constitutional and ceremonial continuities between Britain and America prepared the Americans for treating their presidents as republican substitutes for royalty. He goes on to show that changes in British monarchy under Queen Victoria made it more attractive to many Americans, a process furthered by improved transatlantic links. As he notes, the advent of cheap print and a growing middle-class readership increased Victoria's celebrity in America, while royal values metamorphosed into a utilitarian philosophy of goodness that could be seen as in tune with American society.

The utilitarianism was more hard-edged in the case of the value of royalty to the American media. American newspapers and magazines produced stories to supply an expanding market for royal news, and, rather than remaining reliant on their British counterparts, increasingly commissioned their own stories. Thus, detached from politics, royalty played a role in the American cult of celebrity, notably with the successful visit of Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1860. The *New York Times* was to report that, when asked how he would make a living if the monarchy were abolished, Edward replied, "I think I could support my family by giving lectures in the United States on 'How it feels to be Prince of Wales.'"

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JEFFERY M. DORWART *Invasion and Insurrection: Security, Defense, and War in the Delaware Valley, 1621–1815*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2008. Pp. 250. \$46.50.

Jeffrey M. Dorwart's book treats an interesting topic: how the people of a region conceived and tried to maintain their security for nearly two hundred years. Thus he is able to span a rich period from initial Dutch and Swedish settlers to the War of 1812, devoting attention as well to the Dutch-English wars, the four major conflicts between France, Britain, and their Indian allies, the American Revolution, and the Whiskey and Fries's Rebellions. He deals with a region that had Quaker Pennsylvania at its center for three quarters of a century. Far from trusting in God to protect their "Holy Experiment," the Quaker Assembly periodically funded and arranged for others to protect them, although not always in time: the three "Lower Counties" of Delaware, the first to feel the brunt of foreign attacks, separated in 1706 when their defense interests were ignored during Queen Anne's War.

Admitting that his work was spurred by the United States' concern with national security in the twenty-first century, Dorwart looks at both the internal and external dimensions of security—fear of potentially subversive groups within as well as manifest foreign threats without. Unpleasant reminders of recent events in the United States had colonial precedents: rounding up members of minority groups (for instance, Protestant French Huguenots at a time when they were the group most persecuted by the French Catholics with whom the British were fighting); using defense as an excuse for politicians and their connections to profit; and playing politics with defense issues (Pennsylvania's proprietor and Quaker Assembly deadlocked over whether the former should be taxed while Indians attacked the frontier).

Nevertheless, while nearly all readers will learn much from Dorwart, few can be expected to know more than a fraction of the information he presents. Without even trying, I found several disturbing errors and one large omission that casts doubts on the extent to which the author checked the student research on which he admits much of the book relies. For instance, he reports a minister's 1655 statement that the Jewish refugees who arrived from Brazil the previous year were a threat to the Dutch in New Amsterdam in connection with fears expressed in 1673 despite the fact that all the refugees had departed by that time (p. 44). William Smith, provost of the College of Pennsylvania, writes a pamphlet decades before he was born (p. 58). New York Governor Lord Cornbury the transvestite makes an appearance, although Patricia Bonomi's biography (*The Lord Cornbury Scandal: The Politics of Reputation in Early America* [1998]) has probably disproven the most amusing anecdote available to professors of early American history (p. 62). According to Susan Klepp's exploration of the event in *Riot and Revelry in Early America*, ed. William Pencak, Matthew Dennis, and Si-

mon Newman (2002), the black woman Dorwart believed was dragged through the town in a fancy head-dress to mock a Tory lady was probably heading a parade and enjoying herself (p. 153).

More serious is the omission of the most important policy that secured Pennsylvania's peaceful existence for the first half of the eighteenth century: ensuring that the Iroquois made sure less powerful Indians would move westward thanks to the treaties they and their clients made with the Pennsylvania government. Dorwart correctly mentions that this happened at the time of the Albany Conference of 1754, but the event marked the final straw of a lengthy trend that led to the frontier chaos that occurred along the Pennsylvania frontier in chaos following Braddock's 1755 defeat. James H. Merrill's book *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (1999), which stressed this thesis, is absent from the bibliography.

Finally, the book is at times awkwardly written. Material on the Dutch and Swedes appears on pages 21 and 22 and again on page 26. The first sentence of the first full paragraph on page 38 is probably the most convoluted I have read in a book not devoted to deconstruction or semiotics. Had a good copyeditor followed a good referee in the preparation of this book, it would be easier to appreciate its considerable merits. Even those aware of its flaws will still appreciate Dorwart's insights and evidence that we have to guard ourselves as vigilantly from those who claim to protect us as we do against our obvious foes.

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TIMOTHY D. WILLIG. *Restoring the Chain of Friendship: British Policy and the Indians of the Great Lakes, 1783–1815*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 374. \$50.00.

At first glance, this book may appear to offer an unnecessary trek down a well-worn path. Other scholars—Reginald Horsman, the late Robert S. Allen of Canada's Indian and Northern Affairs Department, and myself—have written about British relations with Native Americans from the end of the American Revolution to the end of the War of 1812. Most of the illustrations appear in the earlier books, and Allen's *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774–1815* (1992) even included chapters entitled "Forging the Chain of Friendship," "Renewing the Chain of Friendship," and "Recasting the Chain of Friendship." Yet, the time period was crucial, the records are rich, and the subject merits another look.

Predictably for anyone familiar with the period, Timothy D. Willig follows three distinct phases of fluctuating British-Indian relations. The first traces British alliance with the Indian confederation of the Ohio Valley from 1783 to 1795. Despite the fact that Britain let down its Indian allies at the Peace of Paris, recognizing American independence and transferring territory to

the new nation without even mentioning Native people, the British-Indian alliance held together, united in opposition to American expansion. The Indian confederation routed Arthur St. Clair's army in 1791 but suffered defeat by Anthony Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, where the British let their allies down again, refusing assistance in their hour of need. The Indians ceded most of Ohio at the Treaty of Greenville the following year and their chain of alliance with Britain was all but severed. Between 1796 and 1807, a time of relative calm in British-U.S. relations, the crown tried to reduce its expenses and commitments to its former allies. But increased tensions with the United States after 1807 and the rise of the confederacy led by Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh pushed Britons and Indians into a renewed alliance based on their mutual desire to restrict American expansion. Redcoats and Indians fought together in some joint actions in the War of 1812 as Indians helped to defend Upper Canada against American invasion until the Peace of Ghent ended the war by restoring the Indians to their status quo ante bellum.

In addition to the three phases, Willig identifies three distinct areas that influenced the British-Indian relationship over time. Centering their operations at key posts, the British dealt with a diverse array of Indian nations: Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, Potawatomis, and Wyandots in the southern Great Lakes at Amherstburg near Detroit; Ojibwas, Ottawas, Menominees, Dakotas, and other northern tribes at Fort St. Joseph near Mackinac; the Six Nations at Fort George in the Niagara region. Each area involved different personalities, diverse historical, geographic, and political considerations, and varied goals, agendas, and experiences. Crown officials in Canada, for example, had to confront issues of Indian sovereignty and legal status, particularly at the Grand River Reserve. The realities of Indian country rendered impracticable any single and consistent British policy. Policies formulated in Whitehall often sounded very different by the time British agents translated and explained them around Indian council fires. Agents with Indian families struggled to preserve multiple ties of kinship and friendship with the people among whom they lived. In the end, Britain found itself restoring three chains of friendship, not one.

A few criticisms are in order. To explain that Joseph Brant was a war chief with no hereditary authority, and then immediately refer to him as a sachem, is confusing (p. 17). *Anishnabeg* is the plural form of *Anishnabe* and does not require an s (p. 94). More attention to the diversity within the British as well as among and within the Indian nations would have further enriched the study. Structuring chapters by region inevitably produces some repetition between chapters.

In spite of its subtitle, this is more than just a study of policy. The relationship was not simply envisioned in London and imposed from its colonial outposts; it was a fragile product of shared interests, shaped by multiple foreign policies, indigenous as well as imperial, that

sometimes competed as well as overlapped. Willig deals with Indian nations, bands, and leaders as equal partners who exerted their own influences in forging, questioning, and refashioning the chain of friendship. He follows the shifting strands of the relationship closely and carefully. The result is a book that not only supplements its predecessors but also supplants them as the standard work on British-Indian relations in this area and era.

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JIM PIECUCH. *Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, and Slaves in the Revolutionary South, 1775–1782*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 439. \$39.95.

This military history of the Revolutionary War brings into focus the contributions that Loyalists, Indians, and slaves made to the British effort to retake Georgia and South Carolina between 1775 and 1782. While much of the action takes place in these two colonies, the geographic scope of the book also includes West and East Florida, which were a home to various Indian nations aligned with the British, a refuge to escaping Loyalists and slaves, and a base from which Indians, Loyalists, and regular British forces launched attacks against Georgia and South Carolina.

Jim Piecuch points out that while British assessment of potential Loyalist support was a reasonable one upon which to base their strategy, the unpredictability of Indian and slave cooperation and the difficulties in bringing all three groups into joint military action contributed to the British failure. Piecuch suggests that had the British military leaders utilized Loyalists, Indians, and slaves more successfully, those groups may have assisted the British in retaining some part of the south as an outcome of the Revolutionary War. Piecuch provides the reader with opportunities to look at the events of the Revolutionary War in the south in new and stimulating ways, presenting his information in a clear and chronological manner.

He begins with a historical review of opinions regarding the British loss of South Carolina and Georgia, pointing out the deep prejudice in the attitudes of most writers and historians regarding Loyalists individually and as a fighting group, as well as regarding the British assessment of the war in the south and their campaign strategy in fighting it. Next, he introduces the four colonies of East and West Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and provides concise overviews of the effects of revolutionary fervor as it spread south from New England into those colonies. Loyalists, Indians (including Catawba, Cherokee, Upper and Lower Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes), and slaves are then introduced as distinct groups. The narrative proceeds in a well-organized way, following the action of the war as it pertains to these groups throughout the geographic area of the four colonies. The information is presented in such a way as to allow for easy review of chapter contents.

The book has an extensive bibliography and the author has made admirable use of primary source materials. Anyone interested in learning more about the south during this tumultuous time has an impressive list of primary and secondary source material to peruse. The scope of this book is clearly defined as a military history and does not present social or economic history in depth.

Thus the author provides a limited context within which to examine why situations developed or what may have influenced decision making processes in the field, or across the Atlantic, by either side in the conflict. And, for rebel and loyalist alike, the author provides only brief discussion of how the exigencies of the time could create shifts in allegiance or a willingness to take up arms that was not necessarily politically motivated. Piecuch's examination of the relationship between slaves and the British Army is particularly informative, as is his treatment of an important fourth group in this military history, the Whig or rebel fighting forces. These included both militia and Continental forces, and the author details their deep-seated prejudices against and fears of the Indians and of the arming of slaves. The author shows how the violent and retributive actions the rebel militia and Continental forces took against Loyalists had a detrimental effect upon the British effort. Throughout the book well-chosen quotes give voice to long-dead military leaders, soldiers, administrators, Indians, and slaves, enlivening the narrative. Piecuch has made a clear and detailed examination of a complex subject and is to be congratulated on his valuable piece of scholarship.

LESLIE HALL

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GARY B. NASH and GRAHAM RUSSELL GAO HODGES. *Friends of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, and Agrippa Hull; A Tale of Three Patriots, Two Revolutions, and a Tragic Betrayal of Freedom in the New Nation*. New York: Basic Books. 2008. Pp. vii, 328. \$26.00.

This book is best situated among a relatively recent group of popular histories that place race and slavery at the center of the Founding era. The prime contribution of these books—which include works by Joseph J. Ellis, Simon Schama, Harry Wiencek, Garry Wills, and others—is to establish the intimate links between the lives of the Founders, the legal institution of slavery, and to a lesser extent slaves and free blacks themselves. Students of African American life (including Gary B. Nash and Graham Russell Gao Hodges) have long recognized those links but only in the last decade or so have Founders' biographers and other custodians of national memory begun to recognize their actual depth. For even the most Whiggish narrators of the revolutionary era, it is now very difficult to maintain the once common view that the peculiar institution was simply one among many nettlesome issues with which the otherwise cautious Founders grappled. In fact, as Joseph

Ellis has written, it was the elephant in the room. Sometimes through conspicuous silences, sometimes through inconspicuous political acts, the leaders of the American Revolution struggled mightily to reconcile human bondage with the ideas for which they fought.

Few episodes better illustrate the depth of this struggle than the prosaic one at the center of Nash and Hodges's book: the granting of power of attorney to Thomas Jefferson by his friend, the Polish nobleman and Revolutionary War hero, Tadeusz Kosciuszko. In the years after the American War, Kosciuszko had distinguished himself as one of Europe's most ardent republicans and defenders of the downtrodden. In addition to fighting for the liberation of the serfs of his native Poland, he also embraced the Atlantic antislavery crusade. But after returning to the United States in the late 1790s, he found himself in an environment increasingly hostile to such causes and their Jacobin associations. Thus, when the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed in 1798, Kosciuszko, fearful for his freedom, fled the United States, leaving behind a substantial estate that included a large tract in the Ohio country. To dispose of that estate upon his death, Kosciuszko chose Jefferson.

The decision was not simply one of financial expediency, for Kosciuszko instructed his executor to use the funds from the estate to buy the freedom, education, and long-term welfare of as many enslaved persons as possible. Clearly both Kosciuszko and Jefferson knew that having the author of the Declaration of Independence undertake such a project would have vast symbolic value. But by the time Kosciuszko finally died in the autumn of 1817, Jefferson already felt that he and his fellow Virginians had "the wolf by the ears," and that freeing a large number of slaves would simply be too destabilizing for the Old Dominion.

In plain, poignant terms, Nash and Hodges detail the legal and political gymnastics Jefferson employed to free himself from his obligation and, more broadly, to overcome his stated qualms about slavery. What makes the episode doubly tragic is the fact that in not carrying out his friend's wishes, Jefferson not only failed to strike a blow against an institution he had once professed to despise, but he also failed to rescue himself from the horrible spiral of indebtedness that consumed his later years. The sale of his own slaves to Kosciuszko's estate, and their subsequent manumission, would have more than restored Jefferson's solvency.

Intertwined with this story is the story of Agrippa Hull, a prosperous free black from Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Like many northern free blacks, Hull volunteered to serve in the Continental Army. After serving two years as orderly for General John Paterson, Hull was reassigned to Kosciuszko. During the four years of their association, Hull walked literally hundreds of miles up and down the eastern seaboard, following his horse-mounted superior through most of the major theaters of the war. The experience, as the authors make plain, was surely miserable, but Hull and Kosciuszko grew close.



While Nash and Hodges suggest that this friendship may have had something to do with Kosciuszko's hostility to slavery, they are often at pains to link Hull's story to that of their other two main characters. But given their intent—to produce an accessible, engaging narrative of race and slavery in the revolutionary era—Hull's life story offers a compelling counterpoint to the story Jefferson and so many historians once told about the place of African Americans in the revolutionary era.

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ROBERT E. WRIGHT. *One Nation under Debt: Hamilton, Jefferson, and the History of What We Owe*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 2008. Pp. ix, 419. \$27.95.

This is a scholarly book in search of a broad audience. Despite its sprightly prose and its celebration of Alexander Hamilton's financial wizardry, Robert E. Wright's study is unlikely to win a wide readership. One reason is the limited chronological focus. The book is not really "The History of What We Owe," but rather an analysis of the creation and handling of the national debt between the 1770s and the 1820s. Nor, as the title might suggest, does the author believe that the debt was problematic. Indeed, just the opposite: "By the 1820s, the blessings of the U.S. national debt were clear. America's financial system rivaled, and in some ways bested, those of Britain, Holland, and the rest of the developed world" (p. 12). Readers who, like Wright himself, are distressed by our present debt of trillions will have to look elsewhere for a detailed and convincing explanation of when and why things went wrong.

But they can learn a lot, some of it new, from this book, which skillfully combines the work of other scholars with an impressive amount of original research. Wright begins by discussing the debt's European parentage, the astute use of state finance to subsidize the Dutch independence movement and Britain's eighteenth-century wars. He then relates the familiar story of American revolutionary finance: the steady depreciation of Continental currency and state-issued notes and the heroic efforts of Robert Morris to put the national accounts in order. Like John Fiske, Wright depicts the 1780s as a "critical period" approaching economic disaster and has nothing but contempt for the Confederation government, which thankfully "faded into infamy" in 1788 (p. 125).

Salvation came with the ratification of the Constitution, which "unleashed the nation's latent entrepreneurial energies" (p. 121). Although the debt was little discussed at the Convention or in the ratification debates, Wright discusses those events in celebratory detail; here, the quest for a wider audience pulls the focus away from financial issues and thereby lessens the scholarly contribution. The next three chapters—on Hamilton's system of public finance, the fate of the debt under Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and a detailed discussion of federal bondholders in Virginia—return to the main theme and constitute the strongest

and most original parts of the book. Wright's account of the various bond issues—the Sixes, Deferred Sixes, and Threes of the early 1790s, the Louisiana Purchase Sixes of 1803, and the wartime Sixes of 1812–1814—is original and absorbing.

Wright's portrayal of Virginia's federal bondholders is likewise informative. Professional men bought bonds as remunerative, non-troublesome investments; executors and other trustees valued their safety and liquidity, as did merchants and planters looking for a place to park their cash. There were also long-time investors, short-term speculators, and some widows and other women whose holdings were pitifully small. But what is the significance of these bond holdings, both in Virginia and nationwide? Wright gives a democratic spin to the data, arguing that the debt was held by people from diverse occupations arrayed "across the economic spectrum" (p. 164). Unfortunately, the data presented in tables 10 and 18 do not sustain that position. A majority of individual federal bondholders in 1795 come from just a few high-status occupations (merchants, "gentlemen," ministers, planters, and attorneys); women and "farmers" are also well represented, but it is unlikely that they held much wealth. The bottom sixty-two percent of the bondholders studied by Wright owned just 5.6 percent of the bonds by value, so the "economic spectrum" that really counted was quite narrow.

Moreover, Wright does not substantiate his argument that the national debt and the Bank of the United States accounted for the "prosperity of the early 1790s" (p. 151); nor does he show how the activities of Virginia bondholders changed the economic trajectory of that state. Rather than demonstrate causal links through detailed case studies of bondholders and bankers, he relies upon a debatable set of economic propositions that link state debt and central banking with individual behavior and macroeconomic advance. Think of a baseball diamond, Wright suggests: "For a country to get rich, it needs to progress from base to base in the proper order." He continues, "In the development diamond, home plate is represented by government, first base by the financial system, second by entrepreneurs, third by management" (p. 7). Once the Constitution provided a firm government and Hamilton devised a modern financial system, "the nation's latent entrepreneurial energies" were unleashed and its prosperity ensured. Plausible? Yes. A bit mechanistic? Also yes. An adequate explanation of the era? Most assuredly not.

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FRIEDERIKE BAER. *The Trial of Frederick Eberle: Language, Patriotism, and Citizenship in Philadelphia's German Community, 1790 to 1830*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 272. \$48.00.

Over the last several decades, a few dedicated American and German scholars have devoted their careers to studying America's first large-scale, non-English-speaking immigrant group: Germans. Pennsylvania has



been the focus of much of that study. William Penn invited German speakers who followed Francis Daniel Pastorius to settle Philadelphia's "Germantown" in 1684. A sustained German immigration transpired from the 1710s to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, at which point they were joined by English-speaking Scots-Irish. Following the American Revolution and especially during the 1790s, Germans poured in once more, this time accompanied by English-speaking Ulster Irish. Then, in the middle-third of the nineteenth century, German Catholics pushed in alongside the great wave of Irish immigration. To be sure, from the colonial period to 1860, multiple non-English languages were audible on the docks and streets of Philadelphia, but none could match the frequency of German, a tongue native to between a quarter and a third of Pennsylvanians by 1800. Pennsylvania Germans were the first in a line of non-enclaved, non-English-speaking, non-Anglo ethnic groups to arrive in the English North American colonies and the United States. Their interaction with the dominant culture would shape and anticipate the experiences of "others" to follow, including in our own time. Yet the reader will not learn that from the text under review.

Friederike Baer's book is a micro-history of a squabble surrounding a language dispute within a Philadelphia Lutheran church from 1805 through 1816. Even the local newspapers decided it was not "news-worthy." It focuses with intense precision on the social, cultural, and legal history of a struggle within the Zion-St. Michael's congregation, where a minority of slightly better-off, mostly American-born Germans pushed too hard to introduce an English service for their children's better understanding. These people believed that adopting English would save German culture and Lutheranism for their descendants. They were rebuked by a slightly less well-off, mostly more recently arrived, and substantial majority who feared that the introduction of English would dilute their culture and Americanize their children. Of course, what was also at stake was control of the congregation, its two churches (one of them the colossal Zion on Fourth and Cherry where 3,000 could worship), and other church properties. General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, a Revolutionary War hero who wielded considerable influence, tried to introduce English in 1805, but his failed attempt led to a splinter group that founded St. John's, which still claimed a stake in Zion-St. Michael's property in 1815. By that year, a second push for English led to the formation of rival "societies" and "parties" within the congregation, competitive meetings to sway church elections, and what the pro-English party claimed was a conspiracy by the German party to prevent changes with violence. When a minor fracas marred the church elections in January 1816, the pro-English party pushed for prosecutions for conspiracy and riot (which they got), for new elections (which they also got), and for an English service—which the majority still vehemently opposed and prevented. The State Assembly, the Supreme Court, and Governor Simon Snyder (a German)

became involved, but only time would bring English into Zion decades later.

Baer mines German-language sources, church records, published transcripts of the trials, city directories, and tax lists to vividly recreate this fascinating inter-ethnic group controversy about the meaning of language for culture and citizenship in the early republic. The Anglo lawyers prosecuting the German party sought to convince the Anglo jury that rejection of English was a rejection of America. The pro-English Germans, however, made no such claim. Baer maintains that they were careful to argue that English services would help them to retain their German culture in the midst of an Anglo culture that would erode their language anyway. The German party, feeling this cultural disempowerment, and the economic pressures of nascent Philadelphia industrialization, asserted their congregational majority and power by drawing a line in the sand.

Whether "the fate of the German language in America depended on the outcome of the struggle in St. Michael's and Zion" is not answered by this book (p. 43). But that is the only question of broader significance raised about this little-known event. When the Scots-Irish or the Ulster Irish are occasionally mentioned, it is only in the context of their meaning for Germans. And by "German," Baer means mostly Lutherans, sometimes Reformed, but never Moravians, Hutterites, Anabaptists, Schwenkfelders, or other sects, many of whom continue to speak "Pennsylvania Dutch" in their churches and homes today. At least in the introduction or conclusion of a micro-study, there should be room to speak of broader comparisons, in this case to the waves of later non-English immigration that followed and the continuing struggle within immigrant groups over the intersection of language, culture, citizenship, and class. Immigration and language specialists with knowledge of this historiography will easily incorporate Baer's impressive work into their own. Non-specialists may find it interesting, albeit disconnected.

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PAUL F. PASKOFF. *Troubled Waters: Steamboat Disasters, River Improvements, and American Public Policy, 1821–1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 324. \$48.00.

Nineteenth-century river improvements might seem to be a minor topic of historical inquiry. What could be the larger historical significance of clearing snags, dredging channels, and clearing timber from the banks of the western rivers? Paul F. Paskoff creatively argues that these activities illustrate the important role of the federal government in sponsoring economic growth in the rapidly growing Mississippi River system. Counter to earlier economic historians such as Erik F. Haites and James Mak, who downplayed such factors in favor of celebrating the miracles of steamboat competition, Pas-

koff convincingly illustrates that federal efforts, sporadic though they were across the antebellum decades, helped make steamboats last longer, contributed to lower shipping rates, and generally increased productivity. In making these arguments Paskoff significantly revises nineteenth-century economic river history, but more importantly, illuminates significant new elements of the role of the federal government in antebellum America.

The argument unfolds as half political history (part one) and half economic history (part two). In part one, Paskoff traces the political debate surrounding river improvements in the federal government. In chapters that unfold chronologically, he highlights the continuing issue of whether or not federal funding for river improvements was constitutional or whether instead it should be left to the states. There were presidents and congressmen on both sides of the issue. While Whigs tended to favor appropriations and Democrats to oppose them, these political divisions were significantly crosscut by the region individual politicians represented. Many congressmen from the southeast, for instance, including Whigs, were against funding internal improvements since their region reaped few of the benefits of these appropriations. Significantly, it was a Democrat, the Tennessean Andrew Jackson, who made the largest appropriations to western improvements. Jackson believed that improvements that benefited the nation rather than local interests, such as dredging waterways that intersected with several states, were properly the role of the federal government. He was able to gain additional support politically by tying the improvements not to tariff money but to additional revenues gained from the sale of western lands. Later presidents faced with falling revenues, economic crises, and expensive wars often looked to improvements as a place to cut costs—although most years saw at least some expenditures for river improvements. By situating river improvements in the political culture of the antebellum era, Paskoff convincingly illustrates their connection to the broader ideological currents, including the increasing sectional strife, of the period.

The second section of the book becomes thematic and econometric. There are nearly seventy figures and tables in this book, which represent a prodigious amount of research on the author's part. Paskoff effectively uses data from all the steamboats on the western rivers, including their specifications and service history, as well as records of expenditures on the western river improvements and other data, to support his thesis that federal appropriations helped spur economic growth. In one of the interesting parts of this section he assesses how technological improvement in steamboat design affected productivity. Here Paskoff argues that shallow drafting hulls, which in theory helped prevent snags, in practice led to new "unimproved" rivers being opened to service, thus decreasing the length of service among smaller vessels assigned to these trades. It was generally on the major waterways, where larger, more productive vessels travelled, and where federal im-

provements were concentrated, that the greatest gains in productivity were realized. While Paskoff does not dismiss the role of technological improvements or the competitive nature of steamboat commerce in making productivity gains, he rightly highlights the effective role of internal improvements in effecting lower freight rates, generating greater population growth, and generally spurring the development of the West.

This is an accomplished and persuasive monograph based on impressive research that contributes significantly to our understanding of the antebellum political economy. It is also an optimistic account of the rise of state sponsored capitalism in the Mississippi Valley. Its focus on the limits of laissez-faire capitalism very much fits the contemporary moment. But unanswered is the question of who benefited and suffered from the "economic growth" and enhanced "productivity" in the antebellum steamboat economy. Paskoff's excellent book suggests that there is more work to be done on steamboats, empire, and the colonization process in the Mississippi Valley.

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MOLLY MCGARRY. *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 269. \$27.50.

In her splendid first book, Molly McGarry faults latter-day historians who have not noticed nineteenth-century American spiritualism's religious and political import. In a revisionism that builds, especially, on Ann Braude's *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (1989), she portrays a spiritualist world that clashed with conventional gender norms. McGarry's work is next generation. Spiritualism, for her, is a new religion of "mourning, memory, and the haunting presence of the past" (p. xiii)—all concerns in recent cultural history. Yet spiritualism, in McGarry's reading, is also about the future, thus leading into the politics of reform—something that earlier scholarship on spiritualism noticed but that McGarry explores in new and textured ways. Non-rational commitments, she tells us, fueled the "rationalism" of public political life, and—just as the boundaries between bodies and ghosts were continually dissolved by spiritualist practice—the boundaries between public and private were thoroughly permeable.

Chapters retell the story of what believers called "Modern American Spiritualism." They retrace the interactions between spiritualists and their Indian guides and insert spiritualists (in ways sometimes forced?) into the moral panic of the 1870s that resulted in the Comstock (federal anti-obscenity) law. Likewise, they confront the new pathology (and notoriety) that female mediums acquired at the hands of doctors of medicine and explore the same-sex innuendos that attended the smaller number of male mediums. Throughout, McGarry is good at supplying historical background for

events and movements to which spiritualists responded. She is thoroughly immersed in the texts of the spiritualists themselves, and she has read widely in secondary literature from a variety of perspectives.

McGarry treats spiritualists seriously, agreeing implicitly with the earlier work of R. Laurence Moore that counters a simplistic secularization narrative and locates spiritualism midway between Bible-based Christian orthodoxy and an emergent world of science (see Moore, "The Occult Connection? Mormonism, Christian Science, and Spiritualism," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives* [1983]). She also refuses to be preoccupied with the too-easy discourse of fraud, the conventional ritual of denial that historians have often used to dismiss spiritualists from thoughtful examination. As the spiritualists emerge from McGarry's text, it is clear that a lot of what got up the hackles of reporters past and present was the spiritualist challenge to cultural mores—races, women, behaviors, genders all out of place, and ever challenging boundaries. More than that, McGarry's reading of spiritualists and their Indian guides provides an important corrective to Robert S. Cox's *Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism* (2003), which attends well to the white guilt and masked imperialism surrounding reports of Indian guides and happy hunting grounds but less well to a different side of spiritualist perception and practice. Spiritualists, it turns out, did active work to support and defend real Indians in an America eager to be rid of live Native American power.

That said, McGarry accepts certain aspects of the standard narrative of "Modern American Spiritualism" uncritically—perhaps more uncritically than nineteenth-century spiritualists like Emma Hardinge who in 1870 told their story. Hardinge and her contemporaries did not fail to notice the role of the Shakers as harbingers of spiritualism. From 1837, in "Mother Ann's Work," adolescent Shaker girls led the way as "instruments" of communication with Ann Lee, their founder, and other denizens of the Shaker spirit world. It was Shakers, too, who, before the spiritualists, entertained Indian spirits, feeding them spirit succotash in their kitchens. With Shaker communities in upstate New York (like the spiritualists), questions need to be asked about spirit contagion. (There were certainly former Shakers and others to tell tales.)

Similarly—and especially in light of McGarry's reform interest—questions need to be asked about the Quaker provenance of early spiritualism. Leah Fox in Rochester, New York, to whom her sisters Kate and Maggie came after their celebrity grew too great in Hydesville, had strong Quaker connections. Quaker theology, with its expansive reading of the Light/Christ within, set the stage for the beneficent, progressive theology of spiritualism, and Quaker immersion in abolitionism and other reforms modeled this involvement for emerging spiritualists. Set in this dual (Shaker and Quaker) context, spiritualism seems less anomalous. Moreover, even though Modern American Spiritualism

was assuredly an Anglo-Protestant adventure, it grew up through another sort of ghostly contact—with a living and remembered subculture of Indian healers and magicians and a similar subculture among blacks. While much of this story is unrecoverable, enough remains to suggest the multicultural world from which nineteenth-century spiritualism came.

Finally—and this is surely a quibble—it seems anachronistic to describe nineteenth-century spiritualists as "channeling" anything. The term arises out of twentieth-century experience in the context of UFO sightings and "space commanders" and their connections with the non-rational.

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JOSEPH P. SÁNCHEZ. *Between Two Rivers: The Atrisco Land Grant in Albuquerque History, 1692–1968*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 235. \$34.95.

Joseph P. Sánchez's narrative about the intrepid pioneers who settled the Atrisco Land Grant near Albuquerque, New Mexico adds a great deal of genealogy, land transfer, and litigation to a growing interest in the intersections of race, place, and law in New Mexico. The author uses the periodization of conquest to organize the "saga about the intrepid pioneers and their land" (p. xiv). Regardless of the conqueror, the people of Atrisco maintained their interests in the grant through careful husbandry of documents, tenacity in litigation, and evidentiary proofs in a variety of legal institutions. The people of the Atrisco grant maintained their communal lands until 2006 when the heirs voted their corporate shares to sell to an Irvine, California company.

The Atrisco Land Grant narrative with all of its legal and social twists and turns resonates powerfully with María E. Montoya's *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840–1900* (2002). For Montoya, the land grant controversies were more about law as set down by the United States Supreme Court involving the common law of contingent remainders and the statutory authority of federal agencies to set boundaries. For the Atrisco pioneers, legal results turned more on documentation.

Sánchez argues that "Mexican Americans who lived in territories such as New Mexico were denied full status as citizens of the United States until 1912, when New Mexico was admitted to the Union" (p. 131). This directly contradicts the findings in Laura E. Gomez's *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (2007). Gomez argues persuasively that the use of Spanish in New Mexico's courts was a symbol of Mexican American power. Further, Mexican Americans sitting on grand and petit juries "checked the authority of Euro-American judges" (p. 88). Even more certainly, "the most extensive site for Mexican power in the legal system was the territorial legislature" (p. 89). Finally,

regardless of limitations on Mexican Americans, "Mexican American men in New Mexico . . . participated on an equal footing with Euro-American men in terms of formal political rights" (p. 138). This is clearly contested territory.

The American Indians in the narrative of the intrepid pioneers were raiders, the terrorists of the frontier. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the Pueblo Rebellion of 1696 are duly noted, as is the triumphal campaign to replace the Corn Mother with Jesus. The Apache and the Navajo worked depredations on the pioneers but were overcome by virtuous military campaigns. What is missing in the narrative, other than an Indian voice, is the Ute. Ned Blackhawk's *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (2006) centers the Ute as part of the New Mexico slave trade in Indians. Blackhawk argues, "New Mexican patriarchs . . . employed Indian slaves not only for needed domestic labor but also for psychological and sexual 'comforts,' as the presence of *genizaros* and their 'illegitimate' children over time underpinned colonial hierarchies of honor, patriarchy, and race" (p. 47). The degree to which the pioneers of the Atrisco participated in the Indian slave trade is surprisingly lacking.

Limitations aside, Sánchez documents the displacement of the first peoples, the settlement of Valle de Atrisco, the Spanish administration, Mexican rule, and American conquest and imposition of the American legal system. The documentation of the earliest Spanish settlement "is at best vague and fragmentary" (p. 14). The Pueblo Revolt resulted in a mass exodus of Spanish frontiersmen. The reconquest of 1692 forced Governor Diego de Vargas to validate various land claims based on oral tradition. In 1706, new pioneers founded Albuquerque and consolidated the defense of Valle de Atrisco. By 1730 "the Atrisco land grant manifested a complex web of ownership" (p. 34). Boundary disputes dominated land questions, particularly when the *Atrisqueros* started grazing their herds on the lands claimed by the San Fernando settlers. The governor adjusted boundaries to aid settlers claiming poverty, but by 1821 the *Atrisqueros* were well versed in the legal language of land tenure.

The Mexican period, 1821–1846, brought new administrators but few legal changes. In Atrisco, the third-generation settlers used "careful notarization of new documents" to create "a future basis for legal ownership of the land" (p. 89). They had learned their lesson.

The American conquest brought new legal institutions. In 1854 the United States Congress created the Office of Surveyor General to determine the validity of land grant claims and to recommend action to Congress. In 1891 Congress created the Court of Private Land Claims to hear land grant claims and determine title. In 1894 this Court held that the Atrisco grant was a community grant. The grant was surveyed and in 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt issued a patent to the grant. The heirs under the grant voted to sell in 2006

and the history of Atrisco's grant came to an end, but not the story of its people.

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LAURA E. GÓMEZ. *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*. New York: New York University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 243. \$35.00.

Latinos have long occupied a marginal historical presence in the recesses of the Euro-American imagination. Latino history in the United States lies submerged, overwhelmed by a contemporary tide of nativist, anti-immigrant rhetoric that foregrounds only a recent immigrant presence clothed in fraud and criminality. Historical evidence, however, supports a different, longer-lived account of how large Latino populations came to be within the ambit of Euro-American power and nationality. Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans came within that ambit through military conquests, and it can truthfully be said that Mexican Americans were forged by Euro-American conquest.

Laura Gómez's new book explores the history and consequences of the United States' military conquest of Mexico and its annexation of the lands constituting today's southwestern United States. In her well-researched narrative, Gómez shows how the conquest and subsequent United States control over the New Mexico territory reshaped race relations among whites, Indians, Mexicans, and blacks.

Gómez explores crucial facets of the Euro-American conquest of Mexico and its manifold effects on race relations, focusing on New Mexico. Early on, her narrative surprises the reader by revealing evidence of violent resistance to conquest and Euro-American rule. Gómez discusses the trials and executions of Mexicans and Indians who resisted the United States' colonial enterprise by murdering the first appointed governor of New Mexico, Charles Bent.

The superimposition of the Euro-American racial order upon the pre-existing Spanish and Mexican colonial racial order resulted in complex racial dynamics. While the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed federal citizenship to conquered Mexicans, the racist views of their white conquerors guaranteed that Mexicans would be seen as racially inferior regardless of their putative legal status. Gómez describes the development and promulgation of both the dominant Euro-American view of Mexicans, which pronounced them racially unfit for self-governance and inclusion in the Union, and the more benign progressive view, which cast Mexicans in the whitening light of a largely invented Spanish and European past. Carey McWilliams has aptly characterized this as the "fantasy heritage" of the Southwest.

Even a weak claim to "whiteness" by Mexican elites was enough to skew relations among Mexicans, Indians, and African Americans. Gómez shows how Mexican elites were encouraged to claim a white status, albeit a



second-class one, in exchange for distancing themselves from prior alliances with Pueblo Indians and non-elite Mexicans. Gómez shows how these elites exercised power and agency through juries and the territorial legislature, belying the image of passive Mexican victimization after the conquest. Gómez also demonstrates how law played a powerful role in privileging Mexicans relative to Pueblo Indians, and Pueblos relative to other, “uncivilized” Indian nations. New Mexicans also sought to approach whiteness by repudiating Mexican anti-slavery and adopting a slave code in 1859, thus distancing themselves from American blacks. Similarly, New Mexicans sought to claim whiteness by enslaving Indians for the first quarter-century of Euro-American colonial rule.

In her final chapter, Gómez describes how, in the decades following military conquest, Congress and the Supreme Court used the law to deprive Mexicans of millions of acres of land they had previously owned. According to Gómez, the newly acquired Mexican territories raised the question of the legality of slavery in these territories, and, together with the *Dred Scott* decision, helped usher in the Civil War.

Gómez makes a welcome and significant contribution with this book, most importantly through her demonstrations of how conquest and the Euro-American legal forms imposed upon Mexicans in its wake created incentives for elite Mexicans to claim a kind of whiteness, what she terms “off-white.” With clarity, Gómez shows how law contributed to the ambivalent position and meaning of Mexican American identity. On one hand, law and colonial rule gave elite Mexicans a weak claim to whiteness through the collective naturalization of Mexicans under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the need of Euro-American colonial rulers to enlist Mexicans in management of the territories, and the *Dred Scott* decision, which denied citizenship to blacks but preserved that of Mexicans. On the other hand, the virtually universal Euro-American view of Mexicans as a racially inferior, mongrel people guaranteed second-class status regardless of law. Law was, and remains, no equal to historical norms of status in maintaining racial hierarchy.

Gómez’s interesting and engaging narrative teaches much about both history and the racial formation of Mexican Americans. Unlike many other books that focus on either history or racial dynamics, Gómez successfully integrates both streams to good effect. Her discussions of historical events are linked together effectively by her apt commentary on their racial ramifications. Her book, founded almost exclusively on the unique history of New Mexico, begs the question of whether different meanings and dynamics of Mexican American racial identity might emerge from other jurisdictions where Euro-American colonial power also forged Mexican Americans.

Gómez has made a fine and distinctive contribution to our understanding of how conquest and law shaped

the ambiguous racial position still occupied by Mexican Americans.

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AARON SHEEHAN-DEAN. *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virginia*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 291. \$34.95.

Why did those who owned no slaves sacrifice themselves for a republic based on preserving slavery? To answer this perennial question about the American Civil War, Aaron Sheehan-Dean examines the words and experiences of Virginia soldiers throughout the conflict’s four years. These Confederates, he concludes, entered the war after Fort Sumter for different reasons than those that kept them fighting all the way to Appomattox.

Sheehan-Dean begins by noting the three critical elements—a liberal democracy, a productive economy, and companionate marriages—that white Virginians during the 1850s broadly shared. In particular, all whites benefitted from slavery for it starkly delineated white freedom from black servitude and, for over two centuries, had provided a model for economic success. By contrast, the Republicans of 1860 advanced an untested and vastly different social and economic model than Virginians wanted. When the war began in 1861, young men eagerly donned uniforms to protect the status quo. Virginians used the 1862 controversies over conscription to create a new and convenient means of judging loyalty and disloyalty. The terror provoked by the Seven Days battles soon afterward increased allegiance to the new republic, especially when the Union began dismantling slavery, rumors spread of Yankee atrocities, and a new culture of self-sacrifice emerged most famously with the celebrated death of Captain William Latané. The Emancipation Proclamation made all Confederates, slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike, de facto defenders of the peculiar institution. Soldiers were fighting as much for their families as anything else by the end of 1863. By blurring the distinction between battlefield and home front, the destructive Union campaigns of 1864 reinforced the soldiers’ beliefs that defending the Confederacy was the best means of defending their families. The soldiers had once enlisted to protect slavery, but their motives were now more complex and more personal. Moreover, their nation had been transformed into the South of memory.

Although Sheehan-Dean set out to answer the particular question of why non-slaveholders fought for a nation founded on slavery, his work also addresses other longstanding questions and interpretations of the Civil War. He insists, for example, that asking why the South seceded is not the same as asking why individuals went to war in 1861, and that in turn is not the same question as what propelled southerners to continue to fight for four more years. Sheehan-Dean’s study makes plain how much confusion has resulted from the failure



to see that different questions and different answers emerged as soldiers made sense of their changing experiences—a simple enough observation, but one that has escaped far too many historians.

In a broader sense, Sheehan-Dean is issuing a plea for irony and a warning against hindsight. He finds that, contrary to modern expectations, Confederate soldiers became more committed to victory, not less, despite the war's length and carnage; indeed, the more aggressively the Federals fought to destroy slavery and their enemy's ability to resist, the harder Confederates fought to protect their peculiar institution and their homes. Thus once fashionable arguments that southerners defeated themselves by a failure of will are based less on evidence and more on modern historians' distorting hindsight and their unwillingness or inability to enter into the minds of those who, unlike us, willingly embraced slavery and did not anticipate their impending defeat.

Sheehan-Dean's careful analysis should not only supersede previous works that have looked at these problems, but should prompt historians to turn to other problems, in particular the long-overdue study of why Union soldiers fought. If some have wondered why the Confederates did not quit, what of the Federals? During the war's first two years, they endured everything from poor generalship to an unprecedented string of defeats in the East. Common sense (hindsight again) would have Unionists ready to rid themselves of the secessionists, who not only hated them but were holding the country back. And yet the Federals kept fighting—like the Confederates—and their devotion to their own cause even grew—again, like the Confederates. Perhaps the next step for Sheehan-Dean would be a complementary volume entitled *Why Yankees Fought*. Together the two could reveal a great deal about American character in times of crisis.

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JASON PHILLIPS. *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2007. Pp. x, 257. \$34.95.

The Confederacy continues to draw attention from scholars interested in a number of questions. Did Confederates develop a sense of national community, or was their nascent slaveholding republic doomed from the start by unshakable local and state loyalties? Did United States armies play a significant part in defeating the Confederacy, or did internal fracturing along lines of class, race, and gender do far greater damage? Was the Confederate experiment an aberration in southern history, or should it be seen as one act in a larger drama marked by significant continuity throughout the mid-nineteenth century?

Jason Phillips engages such questions in this book. Building on earlier work examining Confederate persistence by James M. McPherson, Peter S. Carmichael, and others (Wiley Sword's *Southern Invincibility: A History of the Confederate Heart* [1999] addresses several of

the author's themes but does not appear in the notes or bibliography), Phillips's book confirms some of what we already know while also offering fresh analysis and testimony. It focuses on soldiers who remained steadfast until the end of the war—that is, long past the point at which many historians believe they should have realized the futility of their cause and given up. Less interested in what "diehards" fought for than in why they continued to fight, Phillips argues that such soldiers "expressed a resilient ethos or culture of invincibility." They did not "stick it out because of peer pressure, military authority, inertia, or even Confederate nationalism" but rather "submitted to unending carnage and squalor because they expected to win" (p. 2). The diehards' ethos remained intact after the war, when, as defiant ex-Confederates, they helped to shape the New South.

Phillips defines the diehard "ethos" as a system of beliefs that sprang from prewar roots and included assumptions of divine approval of the South and its institutions and a profoundly negative view of Yankees. These attitudes, when subjected to harsh warfare, hardened into a culture of resistance that sustained diehards through the severest tests: "Confederates pictured themselves and their adversaries in Manichaean terms that left no doubt as to which side was right; they drew the sides of the Civil War in a way that made Union victory inconceivable, even impossible, within their worldview" (p. 7). Beliefs in a righteous South and Yankee barbarism carried past Appomattox, as ex-rebels adapted their wartime culture to the Lost Cause era. Overall, Phillips emphasizes a southern cultural continuum among these men rather than a "succession of Old South, Confederacy, and New South" (p. 8).

Phillips relies on evidence from the period 1863–1865, drawing on letters and diaries from soldiers in the eastern theater, the western theater, and the Trans-Mississippi. Along the way, he makes a number of excellent points—two of which involve the need to get beyond a modern framework to recover the world of the diehards and the importance of rumors in that world. "Understanding these people requires suspending hindsight and judgment and seeing them as they viewed themselves . . . If our knowledge of outcomes tempts us to read the present into the past, our disagreement with the Confederates' cause entices us to criticize rather than explain their values" (p. 4). As for rumors, Phillips reminds us that what people thought was true, however inaccurate accounts in newspapers or reports in letters might have been, prompted their actions. The diehards were not delusional—though their behavior often strikes modern readers as such.

Who were the diehards? Main line troops rather than guerrillas or home guards dominate the text, but the overall demographic portrait remains somewhat unclear. Phillips observes that diehards tended to be more privileged, better educated, and more devoted to slavery than the Confederate citizenry as a whole. Yet he also claims the ethos of invincibility transcended class lines and was more attractive to yeomen than a Con-

federate nationalism that hewed closely to slaveholders' ideas and goals. How numerous were diehards among the approximately 850,000–900,000 Confederates who shouldered muskets? Phillips leaves the number vague, twice alluding near the end of the text to “thousands of Rebels” who considered themselves unconquerable (pp. 187–88). Just a few paragraphs later, however, he closes with this: “By linking the soldiers' context, culture, and dreams, we discern why a people on the brink of surrender expected victory and how the calamitous end shaped their future” (p. 189). The reference to “a people” expecting victory summons an image of far more than a few thousand diehards.

Sources may not permit establishing even an approximate percentage of Confederate soldiers who might be labeled diehards—a disappointing fact that will not surprise anyone who has dealt with economic, social, or military statistics in the Confederacy. Whatever their number, Phillips makes a very good case for the diehards' importance and invites further work on comparable sentiment among civilians in the Confederacy.

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JULIE ROY JEFFREY. *Abolitionists Remember: Antislavery Autobiographies and the Unfinished Work of Emancipation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 337. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Julie Roy Jeffrey can justly be described as one of the most prolific and important historians of American abolitionism. Her previous book, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (1998), broke new ground by profiling plebeian women in the antislavery movement; this one looks at the memoirs, reminiscences, and reunions of former abolitionists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its central figures run the gamut from obscure activists (Jane Grey Swisshelm and Lucy Colman) to better-known campaigners (William Still and Levi Coffin) and movement luminaries (Frederick Douglass and George Julian). Jeffrey draws attention to several tendencies. African American writers marginalized the role of whites in the Underground Railroad and the larger antislavery project. Early accounts overlooked or softened the movement's factional discord, while later ones stressed factionalism and generally skewered the Garrisonians. Swisshelm pronounced William Lloyd Garrison himself guilty of “moral dilettantism” due to his seeming disdain of politics, and memorably intoned that it was difficult to know whether he “labored harder for the overthrow of slavery or political anti-slavery” (p. 191). Although some writers offered nuanced pictures of the South, many more carried on the abolitionist tradition of emphasizing the cruelty of southern slavery and demonizing the entire region. Midwesterners elevated the significance of their wing of the movement over its eastern counterpart, prefiguring a point that would emerge in academic histories starting in the 1890s. Two themes, however, united Jeffrey's activists-

turned-writers: they were out to counter the “reconciliationist” climate of the post-Reconstruction era and to inspire the rising generation to carry on the crusade against inequality—to complete the unfinished work of the movement.

Jeffrey's writers faced overwhelming odds. The somewhat controversial decisions to dismantle the American Anti-slavery Society and its satellites between 1865 and 1870 deprived the gray-haired reformers of a forum to register their dismay over emerging conservatism in both regions. Major publishing houses, as Jeffrey shows in revealing detail, turned down manuscripts thought to have limited audiences, and major magazines proved only slightly more flexible. Such journals as *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly*, whose circulation reached tens of thousands of subscribers (dwarfing sales of abolitionist memoirs, which rarely exceeded a few hundred a year) soon fell in step with reconciliationism. They depicted African Americans as stupid and pathetic people incapable of bettering themselves and unworthy of uplift. They also churned out copy increasingly sympathetic to the South, both before the war and especially in its aftermath. In addition, books and magazines at once reflected and reinforced popular preference for sentimentalist literature that ran against the grain of the earnest and didactic work of erstwhile abolitionists. Readers wished to be entertained, not stimulated or challenged. Abolitionist work simply could not cut through the comforting haze of moonlight and magnolias.

One can quibble with Jeffrey's approach to her topic. The narrative sometimes bogs down in long-winded plot summaries, one after the other, and it also gets repetitious. Events like small reunions that hardly seem to have mattered get undue attention. Much of the focus, moreover, is on the national scene. It is not clear if that was the perspective of the sources themselves or if Jeffrey ignored commentary on state and local affairs, an arena that saw spirited struggle over civil rights in northern states during the period under discussion. Far more important, Jeffrey early on raises the question of the distinction between memory and history but quickly lets it drop, missing an opportunity to contribute to the current discussion in the profession over the relationship between the remembered past and the past constructed by historians.

The book still stands on its own merits. It is an engaging work that convincingly uncovers challenges to reconciliationism. Antislavery men and women, long in the tooth and infirm though they were, did not give up the fight for equality that animated their movement from the beginning—what one of them called the “eradication of the spirit of cast” (p. 113). Readers will benefit greatly from Jeffrey's absorbing discussion of abolitionist views on race and race relations in this formative era. They will especially appreciate her richly detailed portraits of Coffin, Swisshelm, and others who have largely escaped our attention but who are clearly worthy of it. In this book, as in her previous one, Jeffrey advances our understanding of antislavery by drawing

attention to the movement's ordinary people both black and white of both genders who did the movement's work outside of the limelight.

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STEPHEN A. WEST. *From Yeoman to Redneck in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1850–1915*. (The American South Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 261. \$45.00.

The historiography of the Old South has, over the last two decades, given significant attention to the role of the “plain folk” in pro-slavery ideology. Indeed, many historians of the southern “yeoman” have argued for a “pro-slavery republicanism” that led the plain folk to support (and seek to enter) the slaveholding class and that, eventually, put them in Confederate gray. Meanwhile, historians of the New South have sought to understand how the radical transformation of the southern economy changed the allegedly independent plain folk into tenant farmers and textile workers, their economic and social anxieties making them full-throated supporters of the Jim Crow regime.

Stephen A. West's new book seeks to bridge this gap and complicate the historiography of the southern plain folk. Although the work takes a chronological approach, the author makes no attempt to highlight every significant event, choosing instead to look at the role of non-slaveholding whites in vigilante violence, mobilization for secession, and support for the faux populism of South Carolina governor and then senator Benjamin Ryan Tillman. Throughout, West argues that historians of both the Old and New South have ignored the role played by economic fragility (specifically landlessness) in structuring the southern plain folks' conception of slavery, race, and secession. In doing so, he successfully adds nuance to our concept of “slaveholding republicanism” and reframes the discussion of postbellum racial violence and demagoguery (a term he legitimately deconstructs and redefines).

West's close study of two upcountry counties, York and Pickens, highlights his new approach. He finds, for example, that only about forty percent of non-slaveholders owned their own land in these upper piedmont counties. If this was the norm for the South Carolina upcountry, it clearly calls into question the oft-repeated notion that white men, slaveholding or not, were able to ground their masculinity, honor, independence, and manhood in property ownership.

West has opened an interesting and fruitful discussion in our conceptualization of southern political and cultural history. However, there are a couple of points that make one wary of seeing this as a true paradigm shift in our understanding of either South Carolina or the other southern states that possessed a strong plantation-belt elite. Notably, much of West's research fails to examine the South Carolina upcountry as a single

region and instead concentrates on the thin belt of counties in the northern tier of the state known as the “upper piedmont.” These counties did have some idiosyncratic features in relation to the rest of the South Carolina upcountry (and certainly to the rest of South Carolina) and share at least some of the character of other mountainous regions in the South with regard to slaveholding and support for secession. More significant than their differences from the rest of the state, however, are these counties' differences from the rest of the mountainous South. The author is right that South Carolina's elites had to work hard to secure support for slaveholding and for secession, but they succeeded in ways that elites in eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina failed. West only spends a couple of pages dealing with the high rates of enlistment in the Confederate Army from this region and does not deal at all with the vocal and public support of the Confederacy from local clergy and civic leaders. Of more concern, he almost skips Reconstruction entirely, including the participation of a large yeoman contingent in the state's paramilitary “Redshirt” companies. This oversight is the weakest aspect of a book that spends so much careful effort on understanding the mobilization of antebellum militia companies.

The second part of West's study, which focuses on the emergence of the “redneck” as an identifiable southern type, is the strongest part of the work. One of his most important contributions is a theoretical one: his argument that the rising southern middle class rejected “the celebration of rural life associated with the figure of the yeoman” (p. 13) and that this rejection has played itself out in the historiography of the New South. West contends that contemporary historians have adopted many of the categories of the townfolk (“demagogue” in particular) and attempted to use them for historical analysis. He argues effectively that this has limited our understanding in critical ways. For example, he examines the role of lynching in postbellum South Carolina by looking at white townspeople's pro-white-supremacist but anti-lynching attitudes. He rightly notes that white opposition to lynching in this period has been largely ignored and reads it as a complex phenomenon connected to the rising middle class's anxieties about violence in the mill villages and their generalized fear of the mob.

West has opened unexplored territory by bridging the concerns of two eras and showing how some of the class tensions of those eras have played a role in shaping the contemporary historiography. His book does not answer all of the questions it raises, but it does manage brilliantly to reframe the debate.

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CELIA E. NAYLOR. *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 360. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.50.

Celia E. Naylor's new book examines the history of African American slaves and freedmen in the Cherokee Nation from removal to Oklahoma statehood. Using the oral history collections created under the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s, Naylor attempts to uncover the experience of slavery and emancipation in the Indian Territory, a place seldom included in studies of the peculiar institution. Along the way, she seeks to illuminate former slaves' attitudes toward Cherokees and the Cherokee Nation. The book provides a welcome contribution to one of the more important trends in the historiography of southeastern Indians: the recent expansion of scholarship on race, slavery, and the struggles of freedmen within the Five Tribes.

As Naylor recognizes, the literature on slavery among southern Indians often seems more concerned with Native slaveholders than with slaves themselves. In particular, historians have paid close attention to Native Americans' adoption of slavery, since that development seems to represent both a significant act of acculturation and the acceptance of a Euro-American idea of race. Naylor reviews that topic, but she pursues a different goal. Rather than explain what slavery may have said about Cherokees, she explores the lives of the people Cherokees enslaved. In the WPA narratives, for example, she finds individual slaves' memories of the struggle to rebuild after removal, as well as recollections of the chaos and danger of the Civil War years in Indian Territory. The oral histories also yield evidence of slaves' everyday experience: their food, dress, and ordinary behavior. Paying attention to this material allows Naylor to assemble a more detailed and nuanced picture of post-removal Cherokee slavery than the literature has heretofore included. In addition, it allows her to address the question of how slave life in the Cherokee Nation compared with that in the South. Some scholars have suggested that the Five Tribes maintained a less cruel form of slavery than did white southerners. Naylor refutes that position by providing ample evidence of both Cherokee slaveholders' brutal behavior and Cherokee slaves' resistance. Like their counterparts in the states, Cherokee slave owners proved capable of vicious punishments, while slaves in the Cherokee Nation challenged their subservient position when they saw the chance. Naylor describes an institution in which slaves experienced a variety of different kinds of treatment, but one in which the Indian identity of a master did not guarantee kindness or liberal management.

Naylor's most interesting discussion concerns the development of what she calls African Indian identities within Cherokee slavery. In many of the WPA histories, she explains, former slaves described their families' close connections to Cherokee culture and the Cherokee Nation. For some, that connection took the form of direct Cherokee ancestry, with former slaves identifying themselves as possessing both Cherokee and African "blood." Others recalled speaking the Cherokee language, dressing in Native American clothing, or eat-

ing distinctly Indian foods. These speakers, Naylor suggests, distinguished themselves from other former slaves, believing that their relationships with the Cherokees granted them a distinct character.

African Indian identity became a point of political struggle in the last decades of the nineteenth century. At the end of the Civil War, the United States demanded that the Cherokee Nation grant citizenship to former Cherokee slaves. As Naylor details, however, the freedmen never gained full equality within the Cherokee Nation. Black communities received inadequate school facilities, and on several occasions the Cherokee government sought to exclude freedmen from receiving per capita payments from land sales to the United States. While African Indians may have come to see the Cherokee Nation as their home, many Cherokees, including many political leaders, never recognized them as full participants in national affairs. Naylor's treatment of these issues closely follows Daniel F. Littlefield's *The Cherokee Freedmen: From Emancipation to American Citizenship* (1978), and, in concentrating on the tangled politics of land and citizenship, her account loses some of the richness of the slavery material. This last section of the book, however, does provide a highly useful overview of the freedman experience during Reconstruction, allotment, and Oklahoma statehood.

In recent years, the status of freedman descendants has become a major political controversy within the Cherokee Nation. As that conflict plays out in Oklahoma and Washington, D.C., we are lucky to have scholarship like Naylor's to remind us of the long common history the black and Native people of the Cherokee Nation share.

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LEEANNA KEITH. *The Colfax Massacre: The Untold Story of Black Power, White Terror, and the Death of Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 219. \$24.95.

In recent years historians of the Civil War applauded the publication of numerous scholarly studies on the oft-neglected Trans-Mississippi theater. Now that trend seems to be carrying over into the Reconstruction era. This is particularly true with regard to Louisiana, perhaps the most troubled and violent state in a troubled and violent time. In the past two years, the community of Colfax, located along the banks of the Red River in the central part of the state, has been the focus of two scholarly studies and a novel. The attention is well-deserved, for the events that transpired at Colfax held great significance not only for those involved but for the future of civil rights for African Americans throughout the South.

The Colfax saga began in 1836 when Meredith Calhoun, a northern businessman and trader who had fastened upon slavery as the shortest and surest path to great wealth, assembled approximately a thousand



slaves from the region around Huntsville, Alabama, and drove them to land he had purchased along the Red River in central Louisiana. In this book, LeeAnna Keith compares Calhoun to William Faulkner's Thomas Sutpen, who "tore violently a plantation" out of the wilderness, but Calhoun's brutal treatment of his bondsmen led to speculation that he was the model for another literary figure, Harriet Beecher Stowe's Simon Legree. Calhoun soon amassed a sizable fortune, but he chose to spend the Civil War years and much of the two decades preceding it in Europe. In 1859 he turned the management of his holdings over to his physically impaired son, William (Willie), and seldom again ventured to his American properties.

The son was very different from the father. When the war came, William Calhoun outraged his white neighbors by remaining loyal to the Union. After the war he married a mulatto woman, became a "scalawag" Republican state senator, and helped establish the town of Colfax (named after Ulysses S. Grant's first vice-president) on Calhoun land. The town was the center of a dynamic black community with an active Republican party. While some other native Louisianians also sided with the Republicans, Keith argues that Calhoun was unique. "It was his wealth that made him different," she writes. "In all the South, he was probably the greatest slave master ever to embrace the cause of black equality" (p. 55).

That embrace only deepened the enmity that his white neighbors felt for him and put him at the center of a bitter struggle between white Democrats and black and white Republicans for control of postwar Louisiana. Violence surrounding the 1868 election led directly to the creation of a several new counties designed to be Republican fiefdoms. One such county was named Grant, and Colfax was its county seat. The election of 1872 produced rival Democratic and Republican candidates for governor and county offices. In March 1873, Grant County Republicans seized the courthouse and installed their officials, a white sheriff and a black parish judge. The county became a war zone with blacks occupying the courthouse and most of the town while whites controlled most of the surrounding countryside.

The controversy came to a climax on Easter Sunday 1873 when local whites, bolstered by Klansmen and other white supremacists from the surrounding region, besieged and overwhelmed the contingent of African Americans in the courthouse. Though long described as a "riot" by the white community, it was in fact a massacre. The attackers killed not only active combatants but also the wounded and those who had been taken prisoner. In all, between seventy and 165 black men lost their lives.

Most of those involved in the massacre were never brought to justice, but a handful were arrested and brought to trial. All were acquitted of murder, but three were convicted of conspiracy under the provisions of the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871. Then in 1876 the Supreme Court overturned the convictions, ruling in the case of *U.S. v. Cruikshank* that the due process

and equal protection clauses of the Constitution applied only to states, not individuals. The ruling cut the feet from under the Ku Klux Klan Act and, Keith notes, "spelled the end of federal intervention in southern civil rights and voting rights abuses" (p. 157). In so doing, it put southern blacks at the mercy of white mobs and condemned them to second-class citizenship for another ninety years.

Keith has taken an important and complicated subject and given it a thoroughly researched, concise, readable treatment. She does an especially good job of placing the massacre in the context of the events that preceded it as well as those that followed. Her work reaffirms the conclusion that there was not one Reconstruction but hundreds of Reconstructions across the South, each with its own unique circumstances. Sadly, the vast majority ended, like Colfax, with tragic results for African Americans.

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CEDRIC J. ROBINSON. *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning: Blacks and the Regimes of Race in American Theater and Film before World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 431. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.50.

After back-to-back readings of two completely different books that seem to derive, in part, from a need to interrogate entrenched assumptions about race, I began to associate certain themes within them. The first book, Toni Morrison's new novel *A Mercy* (2008), constructs a seventeenth-century America in which the regimes of power and domination are shifting into place. But the details have been erased by convenient history and loss of memory. The second book, my review assignment, is a historical treatise on relations of race, power, and capitalism that coalesced in the establishment of the American film and theater industries. Through the lens of historical fiction and scholarly reconstruction, these books provide inventive excavations that call into question the "seductive archeology" of race domination. In the text under review, Cedric J. Robinson, the author of several works on blacks and the radical tradition, proceeds to fill in gaps and make corrections. His five meticulously researched and well-written chapters undermine some established conceits and offer a different—even oppositional—trajectory of the emerging motion picture industry in the United States.

While many scholars of film and popular culture account for the existence of racial constructs and stereotypes prior to the arrival of motion pictures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Robinson routes us through a less trodden, circuitous path. With examples drawn from antiquity until just before World War II, he examines the construction of racial regimes through the support of the intelligentsia and other powerful forces and also explores the continuous stream of resistance to them. In this study, which presents black



history through the “filters of film and capitalism,” an important contention is that William Shakespeare’s *Othello* set in motion one of the earliest and most sustained platforms for defining and *resisting* the invented Negro. Through various stagings (including the iconic portrayal of the lead character by the black thespian Ira Aldridge [1805–1867]) and several motion picture productions, the battle was on. It was to last for the next three centuries and beyond. In this struggle for definition and self-definition, the ruptures against hegemonic whiteness were heroic but outmatched. One example was the efforts of James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938), the towering intellectual of the early twentieth century. He envisioned the production and performance of black art and culture as a fulcrum for race advancement and equality—with limited success.

Moving chronologically up to the 1930s, Robinson shows how the workings of science, commerce, and popular culture conspired to produce a consumable Negro for export to the world—albeit one who exhibited talent and fortitude in resisting. In this discussion, chapter one is the most ambitious. Robinson wades through centuries of history spanning the age of Shakespeare, scientific racism and the emergence of museums like the Smithsonian, the World’s Fair Exhibition of 1893 in Chicago, and blackface minstrelsy to show the steady march toward black degradation.

The review of black film history singles out the pioneering film historian Thomas Cripps for his omission and silence on the grotesque Negrophobia that defined early motion picture images. *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), D. W. Griffith’s racist classic, showed the artful propaganda of such images. Robinson, like other film scholars, views this film as a *tour de force*, but he also argues that *Birth* was the progenitor of movies as a source of “moral instruction” (p. 93) as well as Griffith’s instrument for the rejuvenation of the white race, particularly the vanquished South. Yet black resistance, an insistent undertone throughout the book, is fully evoked in the discussion of blackface minstrelsy. Robinson persuasively argues that the transfer of blackface minstrelsy from stage to screen was due to the “contested terrain” of the performance itself, which was the “Trojan horse” of black militancy. While the contours of this argument are too intricate to detail here, it provides a fresh look at that recurring mainstay of American popular entertainment. With the emergence of film coinciding with the onset of Jim Crow segregation, the racial regime empowered by the dictates of aggressive capitalism and nationalism projected indelible, irreversible images. Yet early black cinema clearly left an imprint and legacy in notable productions from several artists, performers, and entrepreneurs (including filmmakers Oscar Micheaux [1884–1951] and the Lincoln Motion Picture Company) and the uplift mandate of the black middle class. The book examines their triumphs and failures in great detail.

Robinson’s work is also a response to the segmentation of black film history that diminishes, rather than illuminates, overriding issues. He succeeds in providing

the useful context missing in other histories. Even when his usually effective prose falls flat under the weight of extended metaphors (p. 126), there is still a payoff.

This ambitious project, grounded in a broad historicity, will elicit some dissent, but Robinson’s first-rate scholarship will be difficult to counter and will stand the test of time.

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MALCOLM D. MAGEE. *What the World Should Be: Woodrow Wilson and the Crafting of a Faith-Based Foreign Policy*. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 189. \$39.95.

Woodrow Wilson presents a more strongly religious public image than any other president, with the possible exception of Jimmy Carter. One great question in interpreting Wilson, particularly his foreign policy, is what to make of that public image. Did it reflect deep and necessary elements in his thought and character, which, in turn, shaped his conduct and policies? Few would dispute that such was the case, to some degree and after some fashion, but argument arises over to how large a degree and after what fashion. Some writers, starting with John Maynard Keynes, blamed Wilson’s failings in foreign policy on his Presbyterian background, depicting him as hypocritical and impervious to reality because of his messianic delusions. Others, including Arthur Link, Niels Thorsen, and myself, have emphasized the worldliness of Wilson’s thinking and the sophistication of the religious influences on him.

In this book, Malcolm D. Magee claims to strike the proper balance. He rejects Keynes’s charges of hypocrisy, asserting that Wilson’s religious convictions were deep and sincere. He charges others, including me, with incorrectly minimizing the centrality of Presbyterianism to him. “This book is an attempt to let Wilson be Wilson, the man who throughout his life used such terms as *covenant* and *freedom* not in terms of their modern secular definitions but in terms of a very specific Calvinist rhetorical tradition, one largely unfamiliar today, especially among scholars of American foreign relations” (p. 5). Eschewing reductionism, Magee adds that religion was “not the whole story of Woodrow Wilson. It is one thread in the tapestry. But it is the part of the tapestry of this complex, contradictory man least understood by current historians and less integrated into current scholarship on his foreign-relations policy” (p. 6).

The book has worthy aims, but does it achieve them? In our defense, scholars like me who do emphasize Wilson’s Presbyterianism less can argue that we have a different understanding of this thread and its importance in the tapestry, but that is not the issue. Rather, the question is whether the book offers a compelling view of the sources of Wilson’s foreign policy. Regrettably, I have to say that, to my mind, it does not.

Part of the problem lies in the allocation of attention.

One-fourth of this short book (thirty of 118 pages of text) treats the pre-presidential Wilson, and substantial portions make excursions back into his earlier writings. Another quarter consists of appendixes, which reprint an essay Wilson wrote at the age of twenty called "Christ's Army," an 1876 sermon by his father, the Fourteen Points, and the Covenant of the League of Nations. These documents are supposed to buttress the case for Wilson's applied Presbyterianism. Moreover, in the text, "Christ's Army" is treated like a Rosetta Stone to unlock his thinking, which is a burden this piece of juvenilia cannot bear. Nor does his father's sermon help much, and the Fourteen Points and the Covenant are hard to read as Presbyterian texts.

A larger problem is that the book does not really offer an alternative to the Keynesian view. Magee does make the disclaimer, "The equation of personal opinion with divine decree would not have been conscious to Wilson and many of his coreligionists. Indeed the thought of doing so would have been blasphemous to them" (p. 21). Yet in the next sentence and the rest of the book he depicts Wilson as doing just that. For Magee, Wilson's approach was indeed a "faith-based foreign policy," one with all the pejorative connotations of more recent times. He does claim that Wilson's faith was a source of strength to him in his foreign policy, but the reader is hard put to find an example of such strength in these pages. Instead, not only Wilson's actions in Mexico and Latin America; his intervention in World War I; his framing of the League of Nations; and his conduct in the League fight at home, but also the way he reconciled himself to his wife's death all come to be examples of his belief that God was speaking and working through him—that he saw himself, *contra* the assertion of this reviewer (p. 88), as a messianic crusader.

This book succeeds at laying down a challenge but not at carrying through with it. As a treatment of the religious influences on Wilson, it does not do as good a job as John M. Mulder's *Woodrow Wilson: The Years of Preparation* (1978). As a treatment of his foreign policy, it comes nowhere near measuring up to the work of Thomas Knock and, more recently, Erez Manela. As a balanced understanding of Wilson, it falls far short of the achievement of Arthur Link. As a piece of argument, I wish it presented a much stronger, evidence-based challenge to interpretations such as my own.

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JONATHAN REED WINKLER. *Nexus: Strategic Communications and American Security in World War I*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. 347. \$55.00.

Jonathan Reed Winkler's scholarly and thought-provoking study breaks new ground in twentieth-century international history—it illuminates the origins and significance of United States communications policy. Winkler shows that, when Britain and Germany controlled

the world's cable systems in the quarter-century leading up to World War I, U.S. officials exhibited little more than a nascent awareness of the significance of the new technology. But he demonstrates that, by the war's end, they knew communications capability would need to be a cornerstone of America's policy as an aspiring world power.

As soon as war became official in August 1914, a British Post Office cable ship put out from Dover and cut the main German international cables running through the English Channel, giving London a considerable communications and propaganda advantage over Berlin. But, as Winkler reaffirms, London's control of the cables served also to promote the interests of Britain and its empire at the expense of the United States. British manipulation of the Zimmerman Telegram helped to propel America into the war. Without the telegram, President Woodrow Wilson might have found it "impossible" to rally support for a war declaration (p. 105). But the affair also consolidated the view among America's leaders that it would be essential for the U.S. to have "secret, rapid contact with other countries in the future," free of British control (p. 268).

In a largely original narrative drawing on a wealth of government records, Winkler outlines the Wilson administration's response. In Latin America there was a push for cable-network control, boosted by some new construction. In a part of the world where Americans' businesses had significant trading interests, the aim was to keep out the British as well as the Germans. On the continent of Europe, military foresight spurred another significant development. There was a danger that German submarines might impair communications with the American Expeditionary Force by attacking the Allies' transatlantic cables, so the United States pushed forward with a new technology: radio.

Upon the outbreak of peace, the U.S. began to lose ground in the race for control of international communications. Civil liberties concerns about wiretapping may have contributed to the remarkable closure of the U.S. codebreaking unit, the "American Black Chamber," in 1929. But Winkler shows how a dearth of government initiative had already led to underinvestment in cables and radio by this time. Anti-federalist centrifugalism and an insistence on immediate profit returns to private investors were underlying causes of the shortfall. Because of international demand, there was a world shortage of gutta-percha, a natural product essential to the insulation of sub-oceanic cables, and U.S. businesses would not pay the resultant high price.

In spite of all this, Winkler believes that America's communications policies in World War I were a precedent for what it did after World War II; for example, the activities of the National Security Administration. His book is a period study and he makes no attempt to demonstrate the connections, but he is confident in his assertion that American "dreams of wiring the world" stretch back to World War I and still hold the key to security in the face of today's stateless threats (p. 277).

This book is the work of a research historian who has

wider horizons yet sometimes loses sight of the more immediate context. How was the intelligence gleaned from America's improved communications network integrated into overall military and diplomatic analysis? Winkler reminds us of the existence of the unit with responsibility for coordinating the entire intelligence effort. In 1919, the newly established Office of the Undersecretary of State took charge of this unit and inspired its title, U-1. However, Winkler neither explains why Secretary of State Frank Kellogg ended the arrangement in 1927, nor how Secretary of State Robert Lansing originally established the unit (without the "U-1" nomenclature) in 1915. He does not enlighten us about the integration (or lack thereof) of communications intelligence into general analysis in the course of the war or of the period of neutrality that preceded it.

With his nose buried in documents, Winkler has overlooked some of the pertinent secondary literature, such as Wilton B. Fowler's study of London's intelligence suprema in Washington, *British American Relations, 1917-1918: The Role of Sir William Wiseman* (1969). Also, while Winkler makes several references to the strategic significance of Yap, a Pacific island where international cables converged, and while he discusses the work of the American codebreaker Herbert O. Yardley, he omits reference to that official's unpublished but well-known work, "Japanese Diplomatic Secrets." In this work Yardley discussed the communications conference that preceded the better-known Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922 and claimed that his expertise led to American advantages that promoted the interests of U.S. business (See Robin Denniston, "Yardley's Diplomatic Secrets," *Cryptologia* 18/2 [April 1994]: 81-127).

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MICHAEL ALLAN WOLF. *The Zoning of America: Euclid v. Ambler*. (Landmark Law Cases and American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xiv, 188. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$16.95.

*Euclid v. Ambler*, decided in 1926, placed the imprimatur of the United States Supreme Court on local zoning ordinances for the first time. The case, a staple of law school property and land use courses, deserves the moniker "landmark." Although much has been written about the dispute in the law review and planning literature, *Euclid* is worth book-length treatment. Until this volume was published, no one had found and used the available documentary history. Michael Allan Wolf's research into law firm records, as well as government documents, library storage bins, and court files, has resulted in a much more thorough description of the case's history than was previously available. That alone makes it an important book for those working in the legal history of property, urban planning and land use.

Despite the value of the book, I have two problems with its content. First, as a matter of general policy, the

underlying materials used to write history books should be well noted so that readers can make appropriate use of cited materials and evaluate the overall quality of the research. This volume, like some others published as "light" history, contains no footnotes or endnotes. Except when explicitly described in the text, it is impossible to know the sources used by the author to reach particular conclusions. The presence of a bibliographical essay is not an adequate substitute. I do not know if this format was demanded by the publisher or preferred by the author, but it makes the book very difficult for successor researchers to use.

Second, Wolf's take on the case is fairly standard. He sees *Euclid* as the consequence of the growth of land use planning during the Progressive era. His story plays out the debates among those prominently involved in developing zoning statutes and describes in detail the arguments made in the various legal briefs. What is missing is a sophisticated sense of how these legal debates mirrored and reflected the society in which they occurred. Although Wolf notes that industrialization, immigration, urbanization, and other dramatic changes in American culture influenced the development of planning, he does not do much more than that. Reading *Euclid* as an outgrowth of the need to plan in a quickly urbanizing nation is standard. But this approach leaves a major problem. How could a Supreme Court with a majority of conservative Justices accustomed to supporting those in the business of investing in property bring itself to vote 6-3 in favor of zoning? That question is not explored much, except by arguing that some of the conservative judges in the majority may have had a progressive streak.

Toward the end of the book, in a chapter entitled "Confronting the Consequences of Zoning in Action," Wolf discusses some modern critiques of zoning. Those on the left opine that zoning excludes the less fortunate and condones localism in the face of the need for regional planning. Those on the right complain that it tampers with the market by constraining competition for certain types of land uses and permits unworkable aesthetic controls. Each of these issues, we are told, was at least implicitly present in the briefs and opinions in *Euclid*, but none was critical to the outcome. "Hindsight," Wolf claims, "makes it appear that many of the eventual abuses of zoning were not only inevitable but also intentional. The historical record, however, instructs us that this appearance is deceiving . . . [T]here is little if any evidence that the campaign for zoning was an organized effort designed to achieve either (p. 1) centralized, government planning in opposition to private property rights or (p. 2) the isolation and exclusion of nonpropertied classes . . . [Z]oning was a good faith, though certainly imperfect, effort to improve the quality of life" (pp. 154-155). These conclusions are much too simplistic. It is a tautology to say that zoning was not designed to centralize planning. Localism, however, was crucial for obtaining the support of many conservatives. And I think it simply wrong that exclusion of disfavored persons was not a central goal of many sup-

porters of early zoning schemes. Allowing for favored groups to control their environments was critical to the acceptance of zoning across the political spectrum. Even Wolf admits (p. 141) that the Supreme Court was aware of the exclusionary effects of zoning. Why he should then deny that such knowledge had a significant impact on the result is puzzling. In sum, this volume provides a wealth of new, though often unreferenced, information about *Euclid v. Ambler*. But a definitive history of the case—one that better explores its place in the history of urban planning—is yet to be written.

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DAVID F. ARNOLD. *The Fishermen's Frontier: People and Salmon in Southeast Alaska*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 267. \$35.00.

In this ambitious and multifaceted work, David F. Arnold provides a sweeping history of the southeastern Alaska fishery and the people who oriented their lives around it. This book breaks down conventional boundaries by incorporating Indian, labor, and environmental history, all the while addressing some of the most important themes in western scholarship. This is no simple story of declension. Arnold is alert to nuances of historical development, and he is particularly attentive to the persistence of cultural values amidst wholesale economic and political change. Although salmon are the source of all value in this account and the author is mindful of ecological problems, this is a book primarily about the people who came to know salmon, as Richard White would put it, through labor.

Arnold provides lots of food for thought. For instance, he argues that it was less religiosity than a cultural embrace of exclusive property rights that "served as the basis for Tlingit and Haida resource management" (p. 37). This assertion of clan-based property, connected to Native people's penchant for appropriating wealth to maintain status hierarchies and gift giving, sets up much of the story that follows. With an appreciation for irony, Arnold points out that non-Indians brought a different construct and struggled to impose it on local people. Once Alaska came into the hands of the United States, attempts by Tlingit and Haida to force newcomers to pay for access to their fisheries were crushed by the deployment of military force. By the point of a gun, liberty and property-loving Anglo-Americans dissolved Indian property rights and imposed an "open-access" commons.

For Native fishermen, commercial fishing enabled cultural persistence, as wages sustained traditional wealth seeking. However, the utilization of efficient fixed traps by the canneries reduced the value of every fisher's catch. Moreover, the companies claimed property rights wherever they placed traps, forcing others to seek less-productive waters. Federal officials sustained these rights, while they unsuccessfully sought to make

the fishery more efficient through the use of hatcheries, a commitment recently criticized by Joseph Taylor. Federal officials also prosecuted "fish pirates" who helped themselves to fish in traps, while the "pirates" used the courtroom to charge that the traps violated the "open-access" fishery. Like Louis Warren and Karl Jacoby, Arnold reveals how conservation expressed class power.

Fishermen responded by organizing unions, but these suffered from the same sources of fragmentation that frustrated workers in other industries. Gear, like craft elsewhere, determined organization, and ethnicity further divided fishermen. Efforts to unite Indians and non-Indians floundered as the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast, situated within the Congress of Industrial Organizations, was rent by the return of the Sailors' Union to the fold of the American Federation of Labor. Efforts to organize the Indian purse seiners into the Alaska Salmon Purse Seiners Union were opposed by the leaders of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), who wanted to unite Native American fishermen and cannery workers. The ANB, an outgrowth of its founders' experience in an industrial school run by Presbyterian missionaries, remained dedicated to both acculturation and the preservation of Native rights. In the postwar era it would seek a semblance of control over the fishery not by unionization but by joining forces with those advocating statehood as means of establishing local control.

Despite the success of the statehood movement, which was tied to struggles against fishery domination by the canneries, control over the fishery would prove elusive. Upon gaining statehood, Alaskans outlawed fish traps, but unexpectedly the canneries continued to thrive and to force fishermen into new forms of dependency; to preserve the fishery, the state limited entry, but permits became too expensive for most fishermen to obtain. For Native peoples, this reaffirmed the importance of traditional subsistence rights, but efforts to secure these have been opposed by the Alaskan government as a violation of an "equal access" provision of the state constitution, and efforts by the federal government to secure Indian rights have only intensified Alaskan distrust of federal authority. As for non-Indian fishermen, many have forgotten the racial, craft, and political shoals on which the union movement ran aground and have reinterpreted failure as proof that Alaskans are too independent to support unions. Arnold argues that this is more than poor historical memory, as the fisheries held a lure for working people beyond the wage; they always had a component of freedom from bosses and the constraints of the factory. For such workers, the frontier myth retained currency.

One might regret the author's decision to marginalize cannery workers, who were important in union organizing campaigns and whose labor was critical for Native families' subsistence strategies. This reader would have liked to see more of a voice given to unionizing fishermen of various kinds. But these are quibbles, and



any gaps in this ambitious, thought-provoking book should stimulate scholarship in years to come.

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R. DOUGLAS HURT. *The Great Plains during World War II*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 507. \$34.95.

How does a historian tell a national story through a regional perspective? Those in the discipline would be wise to use R. Douglas Hurt's latest book as a model because it admirably succeeds in doing so. This 400-page work shows how the impact and results of the U.S. involvement in World War II were felt in a ten-state region. Thus, this is a much-needed addition not only to Great Plains historiography but also to the vast literature on the U.S. during World War II. While there are many books on the Plains during the "Dirty Thirties," this is the first that examines the region's history in the Warring Forties. Hurt provides a "narrative history" of "regional mobilization to help defend the nation and improve the lives of Great Plains residents," one that "tells the story of the daily concerns" of Plains people during the war (pp. x-xi).

The book accomplishes these objectives through twelve topical chapters independent of each other (prompting Hurt to suggest correctly that each could "be expanded into a book centered on the region" [p. x]). He opens with a chapter on "Reluctance," which examines the predominant isolationism of Plains residents and policy makers in the interwar years. At the same time, Hurt shows that many preparations for entrance into the war were being made in the region when Germany invaded Poland in September 1939 and also how quickly these isolationists backed the war against the Axis powers after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Chapters two through five explore "The Work of War," "Women at Work," "The Home Front," and "Rationing," while chapters six and seven ("The Farm and Ranch Front"; "Agricultural Labor") offer perspectives not only on wheat and cattle production but also on cotton, sugar beets, broomcorn, truck farming, and other agricultural ventures. Perhaps more analysis could have been included on differences within the region, especially between the Northern and Southern Plains.

The rest of the book explores other World War II matters and their effects on the Plains. Chapter eight, devoted to "Military Affairs," chronicles the impact of Army bases throughout the region. Chapter nine's topic of "Internment" highlights the Japanese relocation centers at Granada, Colorado, and Heart Mountain, Wyoming, and the detention center in Bismarck, especially the seasonal labor that these facilities' internees provided throughout the region. Chapter ten, on "Prisoner-of-War Camps," profiles the German and Italian POWs sent to work camps in the Plains. Chapter eleven ("Indians in Wartime") is one of the best in the book. Finally, chapter twelve ("War's End") provides sound

conclusions, especially as Hurt avoids glorifying the effects of World War II and describes how, unlike the situation on the West Coast, the Plains changed little as a result of the war, with "farming and agricultural services remaining the backbone of the economy" (p. 399), and with an unfortunate racism that still pervaded attitudes and policies against African, Mexican, and Japanese Americans.

Hurt admits that his study emphasizes economic and social (and, I would argue, agricultural) history over political analysis. Still, much can be discerned about regional politics, especially in the chapter on "Reluctance," which draws on the speeches, correspondences, and news reports of many of the region's elected leaders. Readers wanting an environmental history of the post-Dust Bowl Plains, however, will be disappointed that Hurt avoids that dimension here.

Some critics may disagree with Hurt's ten-state definition of the Plains, which incorporates the eastern portions of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana that are often excluded from regional studies of the Great Plains. Although those states are a part of the Interior or Mountain West, Hurt is geographically and culturally correct to include them here. And he should be commended for adding those states' archives, special collections, and newspapers to his research while undertaking what was already a daunting task. At times he strays a bit from the Plains boundaries (e.g., his discussion of sugar beets and POWs in Worland, Wyoming, or the Heart Mountain Relocation Center—which lies in the Big Horn Basin, not the Great Plains—or places in northern New Mexico or eastern Texas), but such forays are usually prefaced with "on the eastern [or western] fringe of the Plains." More inexcusable is the absence of a map of the region. Adding one with geographical features would have justified the author's claim that his definition was based on "scientific and environmental determinants" and "political boundaries for structure and manageability" (p. ix). Perhaps this explains why Hurt never strays north, artificially ending the Great Plains at the 49th parallel, when in fact they extend quite a ways north and westward into Canada's Prairie Provinces. Adding a comparative Canadian dimension, especially a borderlands consideration of how World War II played out in the trans-boundary Plains, would have made for an even more unique, more interesting (although, I admit, longer) book. Despite the growing trend in regional studies to look beyond national boundaries and consider regions for the ecosystems in which they occur, many traditional historians are still loath to cross into comparative or transnational territory. But what readers will find in Hurt's book is very much a flavor of what American Plains people believed and hoped for during the war. And that is exactly what he hoped to accomplish.

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KELLY E. CRAGER. *Hell under the Rising Sun: Texan POWs and the Building of the Burma-Thailand Death Railway*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 196. \$29.95.

In this contribution to scholarship on prisoners of war (POWs), Kelly E. Crager presents the overlooked story of the small contingent of American POW forced labor, with other Allied prisoners of war, in building the "Burma-Siam Railway of Death." Although briefly touched on in accounts of the railway written from primarily British and Australian sources, this group from the United States lacks books devoted exclusively to its experiences. Crager remedies this by researching the American prisoners, who consisted primarily of captured Texans and marines and sailors from a torpedoed U.S. Navy ship, the *U.S.S. Houston*.

The American prisoners differed noticeably from those of other nationalities in several ways. One involved the unique level of personal cleanliness the American prisoners maintained when possible and the crude sanitation they attempted daily by boiling water to sterilize mess tins, "medical instruments," and cooking pots. Another notable difference appeared in the Americans' immediate, enthusiastic acceptance of a captured half-Indonesian Dutch physician whom the British despised as a "native." (This same doctor found food and medical plants in the jungle and made the Americans beneficiaries of his discoveries.) American differences also extended to the greater number of risks the American POWs took to barter illegally with local Thais for food or to raid the Japanese officers' chicken coops.

Crager is an engaging and detailed author, and he explores important ground, using the memoirs of, and oral interviews with, these American POWs, specifically those from the U.S. Army's captive "Lost Battalion" (2nd Battalion, 131st Field Artillery Regiment, 36th Division) and the sailors and marines from the *U.S.S. Houston*. These survivors provide harrowing descriptions of increasing hardships and the killing days of line-building, especially of "Speedo," as American and other Allied prisoners struggled to finish the rail line in order to connect it with a spur coming south.

In his comprehensive account, Crager skillfully weaves together various sources that mention the small American force in some way. The Oral History Collection (housed at the University of North Texas) is central to his project. He adds to this information from POW records preserved in the National Archives, published and unpublished POW memoirs, and army and navy files. The information provided by these materials corroborates tales found in the interviews. Crager also engages with venerable secondary texts (such as John Dower's *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* [1986] and Gavin Daws's *Prisoners of the Japanese: POWs in World War II in the Pacific* [1994]) as well as more recent books and journal articles. Other works, such as Bruce L. Brager's history of the Texas 36th Division (2002), are necessary additions to Crager's

study, but often these narrowly focused books prevent readers from seeing the riveting details in a wider context. From Crager we learn more: the personal histories of the POWs, and, more importantly, how they were transformed from "good old boys" in the Texas National Guard to frightened regular army troops taken captive and forced into slave labor in Java, Thailand, and Burma during early American losses, and later shipped to Japan in the cramped holds of the infamous "hell ships."

But this is more than a jingoistic history of Americans working on the Burma-Siam Railway. In a curious way, literary critics would see the whole POW experience, especially on the railway, as the raw ingredients in a "novel of maturation"—one in which the youthful American prisoners have to learn an entirely new kind of conduct, attitude, and way of thinking just to survive as they endure both the physical and mental torture their guards dispense. For those naive men who were used to freedom of expression and who believed in heroic actions, everything was topsy-turvy: they had to unlearn everything and then relearn it, all without losing their tempers and fighting back. They had to avoid the guards as much as they could and to understand how to deal with them when they had to interact. As Crager makes clear, the prisoners also had to push themselves not to give up or not to simply stagger under the baskets of fill dirt they were carrying, then let themselves fall into unconsciousness. With rampant beriberi, dengue fever, and malaria, jungle ulcers on their shins that reached to the bone, the lack of any clothing but G-strings, the death of friends, and a work day of often eighteen or twenty hours, it is amazing that any POW (but especially a formerly wild and free American POW from Texas) forced himself to stay alive and even to imagine returning home. Crager finally suggests that it was on a backbone of battered American optimism that the prisoners developed survival skills. Given the much higher American survival rate in the camps at the end of the war, Crager has a point.

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GERALD E. POYO. *Cuban Catholics in the United States, 1960–1980: Exile and Integration*. (Latino Perspectives.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 369. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$32.00.

Thousands of pages have been written to narrate, interpret, laud, and accuse what has transpired in Cuba in the past fifty years. Gerald E. Poyo's new book brings to readers a magnificent analysis, based on inquisitive and broad research, with a keen sense of the times and problems involved in each period discussed. His is the story of a group of concerned citizens, members of Catholic organizations, who played an important role in the consideration of social issues and social action in Cuba before Castro, and who also struggled against the Batista regime. Their position on social issues was based on the papal social encyclicals of the 1930s and

the ideas of Jacques Maritain. They supported the new regime in 1959, but soon felt betrayed. However, they did not abandon their ideals.

On January 1, 1959, the revolution against the dictatorship in Cuba had triumphed. A new era began for the island. The world looked at the new international hero Fidel Castro as a reformer and man of God. His upbringing as a Catholic student at the Colegio Belén was presumed to undergird his views on social reform in Cuba, especially among Catholic intellectuals and priests. However, the upper echelons of Cuban society were not ready for these lofty ideals. Elites connected to the dictator Fulgencio Batista or to the U.S. business establishment controlled most of the wealth of the island. A small and educated middle class lived relatively well when compared to its counterparts in other Latin American countries. Not many among these better-off people were interested in the plight of the *campesinos* and the urban poor, who were Castro's main interest.

In 1960, the masses saw Castro as their savior and Catholic humanists thought he meant well, but once he showed his Marxist interests Cubans of means and the middle class, including Catholic leaders, left the island. Most ended up in Miami, where the U.S. government gave them asylum and assistance. The revolution, however, could not change their identities, and fifty years later close to 800,000 Cubans had become exiles.

Poyo's book is enlightening, and written with style, masterful research, and a keen sense of interpretation. In nine chapters and an epilogue, each a comprehensive unit, and each necessary to understand the full text, Poyo develops a magnificent narrative of the presence of the Catholic Church in Cuba since the early nineteenth century. From there, he takes readers into the intimate interactions of the young Catholic Cubans of the 1940s and 1950s. In Miami, feeling betrayed by Castro, they became Cuban exiles. Being Catholics made no real difference; as it was in Cuba, they had to share everyday life with all those who arrived in Miami, Catholic or not.

"Cubans departed with a strong national feeling and deep connections to their 'patria' that influenced community and family life, institutions, and attitudes characterized by a powerful sense of exile identity" (p. 1). This is the message constantly presented by Poyo: being Cuban and Catholic permeated individual and family lives in the U.S. Until Poyo's work only a few scholars have studied Cuban Catholics in exile as a group rather than as part of the whole Cuban exile population or as a religious entity. Poyo takes readers on the difficult journey that began for the exiles: a new approach to their circumstances, integration, acculturation, and participation in the broader Miami, Dade County, Florida, United States, and Latino communities. Poyo guides the traveler without ever losing the Catholic link of the story.

This scholarly interpretation of the Cuban Catholic exile community is also powerful for understanding how religious faith has characterized the social life of Latin America during the past fifty years. Cuba was not

unique in its social makeup or in the role played by the Catholic Church in national life. Cuban exiles are not the only Latin American exiles in the United States; Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Central Americans as well as South Americans have also sought a better life there. Most of these exiles are Catholics, however, and Poyo's book tells us how one community adapted and continues to struggle in its new home.

The Americas are in constant migratory movement, and the church goes with people, whether religious or lay, who are concerned with issues of social welfare. Catholic ideas are powerful throughout the continent, and more valuable explanations such as the one given by Poyo are needed. History has been well served in this monograph.

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LAURA HERNÁNDEZ-EHRISMAN. *Inventing the Fiesta City: Heritage and Carnival in San Antonio*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, Dallas. 2008. Pp. x, 238. \$29.95.

Heritage tourism did not emerge as a major industry out of public commemorations in the Northeast, the Middle Atlantic, and the South until after World War II. Before 1940 Americans would have to travel to the West and Southwest for exotic civic pageantry. In her book, Laura Hernández-Ehrisman examines San Antonio's citywide celebration named Fiesta, a civic festival that began as the Battle of Flowers Association Parade in 1891 to celebrate Texas Independence in 1836. Public commemorations and heritage tourism emerged in the American Southwest to promote city building and local investment and to attract settlers to the region. Similar to all southwestern cities, San Antonio's civic elite saw public commemorations as key local industries. Fiesta now covers a ten-day period every April with over two hundred separate community celebrations, parades, and pageants. Hernández-Ehrisman believes that San Antonio natives and visitors shape a dynamic civic culture through Fiesta and that over the event's long history, "as various social actors struggled to enter Fiesta through parades, pageants, and street fairs, they became part of larger structures of power, but their particular footsteps often transgressed these boundaries and continually transformed the city itself" (p. 3). The history of Fiesta reveals the changed patterns of politics, demographics, and power within San Antonio's multiethnic urban community.

Earlier foundational studies of public commemorations like Susan G. Davis's *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (1986) and David Glassberg's *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (1990) revealed how public historical imagery delineated what was public and what was private, and which groups belonged to the public and which groups did not. These

works showed how public commemorations co-opted formerly excluded social groups over time to fashion narratives of community development and build lasting economic and political relationships between rival communities. Since the publication of Earl Pomeroy's *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (1957), Americanists interested in heritage tourism and the politics of historical memory have subsumed commemorative activities under the study of public memory, making the two fields permeable and interdisciplinary in works from Michael Kammen's *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (1991) and John Bodnar's *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (1991) to Hal K. Rothman's *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (1998) and David Wrobel's *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (2002).

In six concise chapters, the book examines the role of elite Anglo women in promoting Texas patriotism in the Battle of Flowers Parade; the commercial orientation of Fiesta under the male-dominated Order of the Alamo; the conflicts over restoration and preservation between the San Antonio Conservation Society and the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association; the successful efforts to wrest the Fiesta from the heritage elite by a new, business-oriented upper-middle-class Fiesta San Jacinto Association; the establishment of the Mexican Rey Feo (Ugly King) during the 1970s and 1980s as a symbol of Anglo-Mexican political reconciliation; and the repression of informal, working-class celebrations during Fiestas of the recent past by both San Antonio's police and its Anglo-Mexican political class. The chapters on the Night in Old San Antonio and La Semana Carnaval are well-executed and finely reveal the author's themes.

Hernández-Ehrisman's book could provide a more compelling and satisfying explanation of the shifting patterns of class, gender, and racial politics for commemoration in San Antonio. The study offers analysis of those shifts without a larger national or regional comparative context to indicate the central and multiple functions civic commemorations have served. This contrasts with newer works in the field like Chris Wilson's *Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (1997), Catherine Cocks's *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915* (2001), John Walton's *Storied Land: Community and Memory in Monterey* (2001), Charles Montgomery's *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss in New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (2002), Hal Rothman's edited volume *Culture of Tourism, Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (2003), William Deverell's *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (2004), John M. Nieto-Phillips's *Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s–1930s* (2004), this reviewer's *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880–1940*

(2005), Phoebe Kropp's *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (2006), or Barbara Berglund's *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906* (2007). Hernández-Ehrisman's work is not embroidered from as rich an archival tapestry as the aforementioned books, relying too heavily for descriptive and analytic insight on contemporary newspaper and magazine reportage, a modest base of oral interviews and personal observation, and secondary historical works. Also, any seasoned metalhead knows the hair metal band Faster Pussycat hails from the infamous Coconut Teaser on Los Angeles's Sunset Strip and was not "a local metal band" (p. 188).

Nonetheless, this book is a solid contribution to the historical literature on heritage tourism, public memory, and historical commemoration in the American West, joining key works on San Antonio like Richard R. Flores's *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol* (2002) and Thomas S. Bremer's *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio* (2004) to provide insights into the contours of civic celebrations in Texas. It will be essential reading for scholars interested in regional comparisons of tourism and economic development in the United States.

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ROBERT H. WOODRUM. *"Everybody Was Black Down There": Race and Industrial Change in the Alabama Coalfields*. (Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 304. \$24.95.

While researching a book on black Americans and organized labor, I once complained to a colleague, "Do you have any idea how many books have been written about black coal miners?" At the time, I could not decide whether there was more wit or bad taste in his quick response: "I thought *all* coal miners were black." Now that a university press has published a book with such a title, I guess it was wit. But this anecdote reveals a significant point: the field of race and labor in the coal industry—and of Alabama in particular—has been strip-mined. There should be a compelling reason to publish another book on this subject. Unfortunately, the text under review does not provide it.

Alabama was the arena for the interminable "Hill-Gutman debate," or the "race-versus-class" debate in American labor history. American labor historians have had a difficult time explaining why the white "working class" evinced so much animus against African Americans, and why organized labor displayed so much discrimination against them. Herbert Gutman claimed that the history of the United Mine Workers in Alabama showed that American unions could be inclusive, and that it was the mine owners who fomented racial divisions in the work force by playing a game of "divide and conquer" to keep the working class from forming

strong unions. Herbert Hill claimed that Gutman was engaged in "myth-making." The question continues to enlist partisans to this day.

The problem of racial discrimination in American unions was never really solved, but rather outgrown, in the twentieth century. Simply put, most of the heavily unionized industrial jobs no longer exist, and organized labor has grown only in the public sector. This was especially true in coal mining, which was already a "sick industry" characterized by its large number of marginal operators long before the New Deal provided the political power to organize southern miners. After World War II, the industry rapidly shed jobs, but those that remained were higher paying, provided greater benefits, and were much safer.

Woodrum, who takes the Gutman side for the most part, recognizes this problem and continues the story of race and coal up to the "era of global competition, 1980–2003." He observes, "Most African American miners never saw the benefits for which they had struggled so hard because their numbers declined dramatically in the Alabama coalfields . . . Why this dramatic decline occurred—and why it happened during the tenure of a strong UMWA (United Mine Workers of America) presence in the Alabama coalfields—form the central questions examined in this book" (p. 2). Unfortunately, these central questions often become obscured by other elements in the text. Woodrum provides, for example, a great deal of social and cultural description of the lives of Alabama miners. Most interestingly, he does not simply treat the miners as hapless victims of rapacious capitalists. "For most miners, particularly those who arrived from rural, agricultural regions, the mining communities of the Birmingham District represented a significant material advance over their previous circumstances" (p. 32). But he does not provide an adequate or satisfying explanation for the decline of employment—and black employment in particular—in the industry. The simplest explanation is probably the soundest: unionization increased costs significantly in an industry that was already hard pressed, so the only way to maintain profits and wages was to reduce total employment. And the UMWA's record on race in the years of its defeat before the New Deal—better than that of most unions, perhaps, but far from perfect—continued after its victories.

While this book is not without its merits, we must face the fact that, like the twentieth-century coal-mining industry, contemporary publishing on race and coal faces a severe problem of overproduction and marginal returns. Greater output of the same kind only adds to the problem.

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FELICIA KORNBLOH. *The Battle for Welfare Rights: Politics and Poverty in Modern America*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 287. \$49.95.

The National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), which formed in 1967 and closed its headquarters in 1974, was America's first national relief organization since the Great Depression. At least two major accounts of the welfare rights movement have been written since then: Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward's *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeeded, How They Fail* (1977), and Guida West's *The National Welfare Rights Movement: The Social Protest of Poor Women* (1981). In this book Felicia Kornbluh provides a new assessment that insightfully treats the welfare rights movement as a struggle over the meaning and boundaries of American citizenship.

The "centerpiece" of the "ideology of the welfare rights movement," Kornbluh argues, was a "demand for full citizenship in post-World War II society," which meant "equality across lines of race and class" and "the right to participate in the affluent society and in all the legal and political institutions that structured public life" (p. 184). In the context of the racial welfare state regime created in the 1930s, this demand necessarily challenged racialized forms of social closure and daringly aimed to transform a stigmatized government program into a vehicle for advancing black citizenship rights. But the movement was not limited to these aims. Kornbluh usefully reminds us that Latinos and Latinas played important roles in conflicts over welfare, complicating the perception of such conflicts as binary affairs between blacks and whites. Moreover, welfare rights activists challenged multiple social hierarchies at once; their struggles were not only racially charged, but also linked to questions of gender and sexuality.

Kornbluh relies on resource mobilization theory to explain the rise and decline of the welfare rights movement. She attributes its rise to external support from the civil rights movement, the federal government, the courts, and churches. Its decline stemmed from a loss of resources as the political climate changed after 1968: black protest ebbed, politics took a right turn, judicial activism faded, working and middle-class whites rebelled against racial liberalism, and elite allies deserted the NWRO. While Kornbluh's emphasis on resource mobilization is consistent with previous accounts, it lags behind recent developments in studies of social movements, which have tried to incorporate resource mobilization into a broader framework that pays more attention to culture and emotion.

Kornbluh takes issue with previous studies about the relative importance of internal and external factors to the movement's demise. Contrary to the views expressed by Piven and Cloward, she argues that the movement did not falter because it shifted from "disruptive tactics to lobbying for new legislation or maintaining organizational integrity . . . Strategic missteps . . . were not the cause of the movement's collapse" (p. 112). Kornbluh acknowledges conflicts among leaders, organizers, and staff within the NWRO, especially over "the place of the labor market in the life of a welfare mother" (p. 89), but unlike West she downplays their impact on resource mobilization. She emphasizes in-



stead the external forces arrayed against welfare rights activists, especially an anti-welfare backlash exploited by a rising conservative movement and welfare retrenchment at the local, state, and national levels. "The welfare rights era ended," Kornbluh concludes, "because social and historical factors that were not under the control of . . . [movement] leaders conspired to make it end . . . Historical forces far from . . . NWRO were responsible for the movement's demise" (p. 185). Kornbluh provides ample evidence of such forces, but the relative unimportance she attributes to internal factors prevents her from investigating how political contexts interacted with movement strategies to produce specific outcomes and consequences. Moreover, Kornbluh's conclusion that the fate of welfare rights activists was sealed by factors beyond their control seems at odds with her emphasis on the agency of activists as "thinkers" and "actors" with "ideas and strategies" (pp. 9–10). Welfare activists are hardly passive objects of repression in her account, but in the end their agency seems largely without lasting consequences, good or bad, for the political context or their own movement.

These limitations are amply compensated by Kornbluh's perceptive interpretation of the meaning of welfare activism for those who participated in it. The welfare rights movement, she shows, was about more than material benefits, as important as those benefits were; it also promoted a distinctive "vision of citizenship" (pp. 9–10), which expressed itself in activists' adoption of the language of rights, their use of fair hearings and the courts, and even their claims as consumers. Her discussion of consumption is particularly valuable because it extends previous analyses that treat welfare as a mechanism for regulating labor and which thus focus exclusively on employment and production, and also because it challenges the assumption that consumerism is always de-mobilizing. Much as labor unions tried to introduce the principles of citizenship into the capitalist market economy on the production side, welfare mothers tried to introduce them through the consumption side. This was perhaps most evident in campaigns that targeted private businesses to secure access to consumer credit on good terms. Welfare rights activists viewed these campaigns as a protest against multiple forms of discrimination: racial, income-based, and "status or caste discrimination" against recipients of "despised government programs" (p. 126).

Rather than successfully challenging their stigmatized status, welfare activists found themselves repeatedly isolated and undercut by it. Efforts to broaden the welfare rights movement and reach out to new allies, for instance, foundered in part because "'working poor' whites" refused to join "a common front against poverty" (p. 142), "many whites were reluctant to join what they considered an African American welfare mothers' movement" (p. 168), and "the overwhelming majority of male trade unionists were allergic to collaboration with welfare mothers" (p. 168). Put differently, welfare recipients' demands to "participate in the affluent society" (p. 184) evoked fears of symbolic pollution and

moral contagion more often than solidarity. Kornbluh does not thematize these cultural constraints as she does resource mobilization, but her account suggests that both were significant and indeed related insofar as cultural categories of worthiness constrained the NWRO's capacity to mobilize resources. In this respect, too, she provides valuable insight into the politics and policy developments of the Johnson and Nixon eras.

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HEATHER MUNRO PRESCOTT. *Student Bodies: The Influence of Student Health Services in American Society and Medicine*. (Conversations in Medicine and Society.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 234. \$50.00.

Heather Munro Prescott's examination encompasses both the provision of health services and the evolution of physical education at American colleges and universities. She presents the story as a succession of reactions by higher education institutions to contemporary concerns in the wider society, and makes the important point that colleges and universities have increasingly regarded themselves as responsible for students' health. Her narrative begins in the antebellum era when women's colleges such as Vassar and Bryn Mawr responded to debates about females' capacity to endure the rigors of advanced study by developing the first college health programs, intended to both ensure adequate rest and nourishment and build up physical stamina through supervised exercise regimens.

Chapter two discusses the model provided by Amherst College, which, in preparing young men for the ministry, exemplified an ideological tie between evangelical Christianity and robust health. Regular exercise for male college students (which at many colleges consisted of performing chores around campus) would disperse "superfluous animal spirits" that supposedly built up during the long hours devoted to their studies (p. 34). After the Civil War, institutions sought to put student health supervision onto a more "scientific" footing by employing full-time instructors with faculty status in departments of physical education. Prescott asserts that such programs were also meant to address violence in college athletic competitions, which resulted in serious injury and even death with alarming frequency in the late nineteenth century. While developments at African American institutions paralleled those at white colleges, administrators stressed the close regulation of male student behavior as a defense to racist stereotypes about black men's sexuality.

College administrators became more concerned with controlling communicable diseases as the germ theory gained credence. In chapter three Prescott asserts that colleges' efforts gained urgency in 1903 when 291 Cornell University students contracted typhoid fever epidemic, 29 of whom died. An enduring legacy was the construction of dormitories on campus where students'



health and hygiene habits could be more closely controlled, replacing the customary practice of students boarding in the local community. Another innovation was health screening prior to admission to college, a practice fraught with discrimination as when, for example, Jewish students were routinely denied entrance due to their supposedly “unfit” bodies. Chapter four traces how increasing concern with disease control brought more medical doctors into college health services. The American Medical Association—ever vigilant to protect the interests of physicians in private practice—decried the growing presence of professional medical services offered on college campuses as a dangerous slide toward “socialized medicine.” Providers of college health services therefore felt compelled to justify their existence, with the result that serving student populations became a specialized field of medical practice in itself.

Chapter five examines the preoccupation with sex in the 1920s, a response to a perceived decline in morals, seemingly evidenced by studies such as the survey of female sexual behavior conducted by Clelia Duel Mosher at Stanford, and exemplified by the routine use of the Wasserman test for syphilis in most college entrance physical examinations. Paralleling the concern with human betterment that permeated the times, more than three hundred colleges and universities offered eugenics courses in the 1920s. Chapter six explores attempts to promote “mental hygiene,” particularly after the American Psychiatric Association’s founding in 1893, including inculcating preventive mental health habits, treating shell shock among veteran students, and policing the “homosexual menace” on campus—a response to public allegations that colleges harbored young gay men. Chapter seven looks at reactions to student unrest in the 1960s, which included the provision of birth control information and services as students demanded more personal freedom and the curtailment of the university’s role as a surrogate parent. The book’s final chapter examines the period since the 1980s, in which colleges and universities have taken responsibility for addressing myriad societal problems including HIV-AIDs, alcoholism, and drug abuse, largely through offering programs of preventive education as well as performing screening and referral roles. The author points out that, in more recent times, financial pressures have placed pressures on the ability of colleges and universities to offer comprehensive health services to students, a development with potentially much wider impact given their role in health education and disease prevention among a population that represents an increasing proportion of young adults. My strongest criticism is the absence of a discussion of disability issues in this chapter, which seems especially puzzling given the author’s assertion that “the body is another locus through which reformers have attempted to open higher education to outsiders” (p. 167). Although historians of American medicine will not find much that is new, Prescott’s engaging book will be of interest to scholars of higher education. Students will undoubtedly

be intrigued to learn the history of an institution that has become a comfortably familiar part of campus life.

LYNNE CURRY

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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

PETER BLANCHARD. *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 242. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$26.95.

Peter Blanchard’s impressively researched book tells the story of the slave soldiers who fought for (and against) South America’s independence in numbers far exceeding their demographic weight in society. Blanchard stresses the numerical importance of slaves in making up both patriot and royalist ranks, traces how slaves ended up as soldiers, addresses why slaves did or did not volunteer to serve, and explores the ultimate effects of their service on the institution of slavery. The great strength of this work is the attention to detail in charting both the evolving strategies of patriot and royalist armies concerning the enlistment of slaves and the legal history of slave recruitment and conscription across the continent. Blanchard’s mastery of such detail springs from an expansive archival base that includes research in Buenos Aires, La Plata, Mendoza, Santiago, Bogotá, Quito, Guayaquil, London, Lima, Seville, Montevideo, and Caracas. After a brief introduction, Blanchard employs his research to trace both geographically and chronologically the progress of the various campaigns across the continent and the ebb and flow of recruiting laws designed to conscript slaves or encourage them to volunteer.

All armies during the wars needed slave soldiers, especially in moments of desperation occasioned by looming defeat. Military commanders incorporated slaves into their forces in a number of ways, including forced conscription with and without remuneration for masters, voluntary donations by masters, seizure as property by looting armies, legal slave volunteers, and runaway slave volunteers, who often faced the threat of re-enslavement if discovered. Another accomplishment of this volume is Blanchard’s attention to both royalists’ and patriots’ efforts to recruit slaves. At the wars’ initiation in New Granada, given many patriots’ support of slavery and their hostility to ideas of racial equality, slaves evidenced early support for the royalist cause, especially after some royalists actively recruited the enslaved with promises of freedom in exchange for service. As the wars progressed, however, patriots eventually enjoyed much more success as they not only more regularly offered freedom for military service, but began to chip away at the larger institution of slavery through laws of free birth and abolition of the slave trade. Blanchard traces the contradictory impulses of patriot leaders’ embrace of abolition as an analogue of their own struggle for freedom from Spain in conflict

with their often virulent racism and their desires to continue to exploit slave labor.

After these more narrative chapters, Blanchard focuses on slaves' agency in using the opportunities provided by war to further their own ends, to secure freedom but also to protect their families or take vengeance on masters. A separate chapter treats the problems and possibilities female slaves faced in the war. He concludes with a discussion of the ultimate effects of the wars on slavery as a whole. Although slavery had seemed to be doomed due to the disruptions of the wars, the vogue of liberal ideas, antislavery legislation already passed, and the importance of ex-slave veterans, the institution survived the wars. Blanchard suggests this was due to a variety of reasons, but especially that the now freed veterans did not mobilize for abolition as they were too busy trying to protect their own tenuous freedom in the face of claims by their former owners. Blanchard speculates that many ex-slaves chose to lay low rather than participate in politics, especially since they worried about being re-enslaved.

However, the historical record is filled with evidence of intense post-independence activity by ex-slaves and other Afro-Latin Americans pursuing their rights. Perhaps Blanchard's assertion is based on his narrow definition of freedom: "Haiti, republicanism, democracy, even independence—all were of little importance to the vast majority of slaves. What they wanted was the opportunity to become free" (p. 15). Of course slaves wanted freedom, but what type of freedom? Obviously legal freedom was a paramount first step, but works by Marixa Lasso, George Reid Andrews, Rebecca Scott, Laurent Dubois, Carlos Aguirre, and many others demonstrate that people of African descent knew they needed to make claims on republicanism, democracy, and independence to secure meaningful freedom. Blanchard shows how slaves fought for their freedom, but he does not consider what freedom meant for them and he discounts the intense engagement of Afro-Latin Americans' political thought with the concepts of the Enlightenment. By focusing only on the exchange of legal freedom for armed service, Blanchard does a disservice to the profound contributions of Afro-Latin Americans to the meanings of freedom, equality, and universality in the Atlantic World. Nevertheless, beyond this more interpretative concern, Blanchard certainly achieves his goal of ensuring that slaves are given their proper due for securing Spanish America's independence; his book is a fine resource for both students of Spanish America's independence struggle and scholars interested in the process of abolition in the Atlantic World.

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REBECCA EARLE. *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. 367. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Latin Americans frequently lament that descendents of the glorious pre-Colombian civilizations today make up the poorest and most disenfranchised sector of society. For example, tour guides often point out that the progeny of the creators of Tenochtitlan or Machu Picchu are now impoverished peasants or shantytown dwellers. At times, this contrast aims to criticize the Spanish or post-independence governments for demeaning and marginalizing indigenous people; in other cases, it blames Indians themselves for their supposed degradation. Rebecca Earle probes the problematic and fascinating history of how Spanish American intellectuals and state-builders grappled with the question of the role of Indians and, above all, the pre-Colombian era in the first century after independence.

This book should discourage analysts from oversimplifying how nineteenth-century ideologues treated the pre-Conquest period and the indigenous population. These intellectuals did not simply write them out of national histories as some textbooks imply. Earle shows how creole visions of the role of the Indian changed over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how these debates and interpretations varied from nation to nation or region to region. Despite this attention to alternative views and regional differences, the author presents a precise and useful chronology. During the wars of independence in the early nineteenth century, rebels commonly cast their struggles as an effort to vindicate the Aztecs, Incas, and Mayas from Spanish ignominy. This did not mean, of course, that Indians would be granted full rights upon independence, but it did prompt the curious allusions to pre-Hispanic groups in national anthems and other vestiges from the era. In Peru and Bolivia, this became particularly surreal as some intellectuals revered the Incas (and to a lesser extent the Aymaras) yet feared the indigenous masses who had participated in massive rebellions.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the leaders of the independence movements replaced the pre-Hispanic empires as the primary national symbols or icons. The young nations outdid themselves, lauding Miguel Hidalgo, José María Morelos, Simón Bolívar, José Francisco de San Martín, and others, in some cases stressing these heroes' European rather than indigenous lineage in an effort to fortify the break with an indigenous past. Towards the end of the century, Spain-bashing decreased and intellectuals were less prone to blame the years of Spanish rule (the term colonialism was used less and less) for the republics' social and economic difficulties. At this time, most ideologues stressed what the author calls the "discontinuities" rather than the continuities between the pre-Conquest past and the modern present. For some, it reflected what they saw as the unfortunate debasement of Indians by the Spanish and their marginal role in the wars of independence and subsequent state building. For others, it simply reiterated the classic conservative argument, cultivated throughout the nineteenth century,

that the republics were, simply put, Spanish and Catholic.

In order to understand this changing perception and use of the pre-Colombian past, Earle probes numerous fields in which the state sought to make its mark, where nationalism and memory entwined. She examines early republican historiographies, coins and other symbols, museums and archaeology, legislature, and the press. While building on the spate of recent studies of nationalism, she relies primarily on primary sources. The book is clearly a labor of love as she relishes the rich, bare-faced dogmas expressed in these documents, artifacts, and institutional histories and highlights the persistent search for national identities. She tells the story well, and each chapter contributes to a number of debates.

In the introduction, Earle makes the defensive point that she focuses on creole elites and does not look at "popular nationalisms." This did not bother me. She provides a sweeping history across the Americas through the examination of many authors, cases, and anecdotes. Including how the lower classes, particularly indigenous people, reacted to these policies and/or formed their own sense of identity, local or national, would have been impossible in a single book. Her overview of state formation and the pre-Hispanic past facilitates this task for others. In some cases, however, she might have searched harder for contrarian voices, individuals or movements that contested national(ist) trends. State formation was spotty and chaotic in this period and intellectual or ideological challenges coincided with battles over political control. I wanted to read more about authors who ridiculed the ideologues in power, criticized plans for museums, and scoffed at *historia patria*. This is probably asking for too much and others will no doubt follow up on her lead on this and many other questions.

When I began the book I thought that it would be a synthesis of the recent and not-so-recent works on nationalism and memory in nineteenth-century Spanish America. Instead, I found it used a more original approach based on primary sources that ultimately offered a compelling timeline and argument. Scholars will build on this book, confirming or contradicting her views, finding alternative voices, and developing her arguments, particularly about institutions and historiography. This is the book's great contribution: it provides a wonderful overview of the creation of Spanish American nationalism and underlines the changing role of the pre-Colombian past. In doing so, it offers a rich set of comparisons and larger arguments for subsequent research on these questions. This is a timely and important work.

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MAUREEN WARNER-LEWIS. *Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 367. \$40.00.

Archibald Monteath was an enslaved African brought to Jamaica at the beginning of the nineteenth century. While a slave, he became a member of the Moravian Church and subsequently worked as a native helper in the church. Some years before his death in 1864, two Moravian missionaries worked with him to produce his life story, part or possibly all of which was read at his funeral. The result, as Maureen Warner-Lewis suggests, is not the usual antislavery narrative but a spiritual testament and conversion narrative. Moreover, the narrative, which was first published in German and then in English, was taken from Monteath's own words in Jamaican creole. For Warner-Lewis, the narrative itself is significant, but her intention is to use Monteath's life history to examine Jamaican society under slavery and after emancipation. Her focus is not on the island as whole but on the area where Monteath lived and worked, southwestern Jamaica. Warner-Lewis also has a broader aim: she is seeking to understand "the possible impact of slavery on individuals through an examination of the role of ancestral mores and memory in shaping the goals and demeanour of slaves and their descendants" (p. 22).

Monteath or Aniaso, his African name, was kidnapped from the Igbo heartland of Nigeria in the early nineteenth century when he was nine or ten years old. Although he came from an aristocratic background, he was nonetheless sold into slavery. He wound up on a livestock farm in southwestern Jamaica where, as a boy, he worked as a house slave and ultimately rose to become a head driver on the farm. Monteath was subsequently able to buy his freedom during the Apprenticeship period in Jamaica (1834–1838), the years between the end of slavery and the onset of full freedom that were characterized by a system of forced labor. Two years later he bought land, built a house, and became a full-time native assistant in the Moravian Church. His life therefore spanned the end of slavery in Jamaica and the first thirty years of emancipation.

As a result of Warner-Lewis's research, we know other significant details about Monteath. Once on the farm in Jamaica he was given the name Toby by his owner, John Monteath. Just before his death in 1815, John Monteath bequeathed Toby, along with other of his slaves, to his colored mistress, Nancy. Toby was baptized in the Anglican Church in 1821 and became a member of the Moravian Church six years later. In the process of baptism, Toby changed his name to Archibald John Monteath, a name he chose himself. As Warner-Lewis rightly suggests, the process of choosing a new name was an important element in Monteath's story since it exemplified the role of slave agency. While historians have long emphasized the importance of slave agency, Warner-Lewis does well in specifically locating it in Monteath's life. She points out the ways in which Monteath subverted the position of being enslaved: in his case, it was accomplished partly through the church. For Warner-Lewis, "the church allowed the despised slave entry into an even wider community than he or she had experienced in their homeland" (p. 256).

Enslaved Africans not only lost their freedom but also their kin; the replacements in the Caribbean and the New World were shipmates, sexual mates, family, and church brothers and sisters. Monteath went further in transcending his situation, since he was able to occupy a high moral and spiritual position in post-emancipation Jamaica. For Warner-Lewis, this was not all that different from the role Monteath was destined to fulfil in his native African society.

Monteath was able to purchase his freedom, undoubtedly with the help of the Moravians. But at the same time, the Moravians had a long history in Jamaica of supporting slavery and preaching obedience. Making use of Moravian archives, Warner-Lewis usefully explores the complicated history of the Moravians in Jamaica and the problems they faced trying to deal with the language and culture of the enslaved. A committed and clearly charismatic helper such as Monteath would have been an important figure in the world of the Moravians.

Warner-Lewis is to be applauded for her thorough study of the life history of Archibald Monteath. Her research is excellent, tracing Monteath's African background, his life among the Moravians, and the wider Jamaican context. We do sometimes get too much detail, not so much on Monteath but on the family background of Monteath's owner and the enslaved community around him, but this book is an important step in rescuing Archibald Monteath from an undeserved obscurity.

GAD HEUMAN  
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JASON C. PARKER. *Brother's Keeper: The United States, Race, and Empire in the British Caribbean, 1937-1962*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 248. \$24.95.

Jason C. Parker uses the cases of two British Caribbean colonies, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, to explore what he terms a "central puzzle of twentieth-century foreign relations and international history scholarship": that is, the nature of the "relationship between Third World decolonization and the Cold War" (p. 4). His book is a political history that highlights negotiations among politicians and government officials, primarily those of the United States, Great Britain, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica. But with his emphasis on the significance of the African diaspora in Cold War-era policy decisions, Parker has opted to include non-political actors in these exchanges and to consider the importance of race as well as national security issues during this fraught period. The result is a complex but never confusing narrative based on impressive archival scholarship.

In examining this subject, Parker makes a solid contribution to the historical scholarship of the twentieth-century British Caribbean and the African diaspora. Although it is no longer accurate to say the post-emancipation British Caribbean has been neglected by

historians, the period examined by Parker has received relatively limited attention from members of this profession. Yet the years between the labor unrest of the 1930s and independence in the 1960s and 1970s are important. They saw the emergence of political parties, the slow growth of political autonomy, the rise and fall of the West Indies Federation, and the arrival of independence in much of the region. These developments did not matter only to West Indians; as Parker argues, the U.S. and British governments and members of the African diaspora watched these events closely. As British colonies located on the "doorstep of a hegemonic superpower" (p. 5) and as the birthplace of many blacks resident in the United States, the British Caribbean was of great, albeit intermittent, interest to all three.

Parker convincingly argues that the West Indies were of strategic importance to the "hegemon" to the north during World War II and the Cold War. During the former, they were the "southern frontlines of the Battle of the Atlantic," and in the latter, they were part of U.S. defensive plans for this part of the globe and key to its anticommunist and anti-Castro strategies. They provided strategic materials such as oil and bauxite for the U.S. as well as military bases and "sympathetic local leaders" (p. 9). But U.S. interest in the region did not mean that Washington could act with impunity. Parker demonstrates the important roles played by the governments of Great Britain, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica. This can be seen with particular clarity in the discussions over the presence of U.S. bases in the Caribbean. The so-called Destroyers for Bases deal saw the U.S. give old destroyers to Britain in exchange for the right to lease land in the islands for military bases. The governments of the U.S. and Great Britain concluded this agreement but were aware that the views of Caribbean governments had to be considered. One such base, at Chaguaramas, Trinidad, later became the subject of an intense dispute between the governments of Trinidad and the U.S. over the city's possible use as the site for the capital of the West Indies Federation.

The dispute over Chaguaramas highlights the significance of the African diaspora and the impact of race on policy decisions in Parker's analysis. He maintains that the hostility expressed by Trinidad's Eric Williams to the continuing U.S. occupation of this land was influenced by his experiences living in the United States and his negative views of U.S. racial policies. Like Williams, many West Indians lived and worked in the United States, where they gained first-hand knowledge of its racial policies, which in turn informed their attitudes toward U.S. actions in the Caribbean. The role of expatriate West Indians can be seen in other ways. For example, some actively supported West Indian independence, establishing groups with ties to West Indian organizations.

Parker's attention to the significance of "diaspora diplomacy" is one of the strengths of the book, but he overstates the case somewhat. The African diaspora as it appears in this work is very much a U.S. phenomenon comprised mostly of West Indian emigrants. One won-



ders at the role played by other members of this global group, particularly in the United Kingdom, and indeed by non-elite West Indians in the Caribbean itself. The extent of their engagement with the official views carefully detailed by Parker is lost in what is otherwise an impressive work of historical scholarship. Despite this caveat, though, Parker has produced a book that makes a solid contribution to the historiography of the twentieth-century British Caribbean.

JUANITA DE BARROS  
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TERESA MIRIAM VAN HOY. *A Social History of Mexico's Railroads: Peons, Prisoners, and Priests*. (Jaguar Books on Latin America Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. xxvi, 237. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$34.95.

Teresa Miriam Van Hoy has written a book that challenges the widely held belief that railroad development favored Mexico's elites at the expense of the rural poor. Essentially, she argues that railroad development brought economic, legal, political, and social gains to Mexico's rural population. "For those populations directly affected, the material gains proved so significant that, as I have argued, they amount to nothing less than economic and political development" (p. 210). It is true that the author is usually careful to confine her interpretations to the region under study (for the most part, the Tehuantepec region), but it is clear that the author's historiographic *intent* is to suggest far broader conclusions, as evidenced by the book's title. Van Hoy argues, for example, that her Tehuantepec findings "generally fail to support the interpretation that railroad development displaced peasants and benefited elites at the expense of the poor" (p. 39). Van Hoy specifically contests John Coatsworth's view, in his pioneering work *Growth against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Porfirian Mexico* (1981), that only foreign railroad workers earned more than required for minimum subsistence. Van Hoy argues that in the Tehuantepec region Mexican workers "did share in the . . . material benefits of railroad development" (p. 51), a conclusion, she maintains, that is substantiated by a detailed analysis of *all* labor costs, in contrast to the payroll data used by Coatsworth. She also suggests that even unskilled workers' salary of a peso a day was adequate since "no workers complained that the wage of 1 peso failed to meet their subsistence" (p. 65). Astonishingly, the author asserts that real wages for Mexican industrial workers "did not appear to have declined significantly during the last decade of the Porfiriato" (p. 68). Even when admitting that railroad workers had few "perks and benefits" such as those provided by labor legislation, Van Hoy disingenuously contends that therefore they enjoyed the "autonomy" and independence that came from such neglect (p. 52).

In brief, the author argues that most of those affected by the railroad benefited in some way or other. She maintains that railroads undermined local isolation,

challenging the rule of local elites and *caciques*. She also argues that the railroads brought the rule of law and the rights of citizenship to the region, enabling residents, contrary to Coatsworth's thesis, to defend their property rights. And where the railroad successfully expropriated land, as it did in the Oaxacan villages of Santa María and Guichivere, the settlements were "fair to generous" (p. 20). Overall, she believes that railroads contributed "significantly to the welfare of the region's most vulnerable residents by helping them to meet subsistence needs and provide a margin of security" (p. 171). Even the railroad development "discourse" can be seen as an "instrument of progress" (p. 190), Van Hoy argues, because it emphasized the responsibility of the government to the common good and thereby broadened the rights of citizenship. In short, she maintains that the "railroads transferred significant resources across a broader social spectrum than is generally recognized . . . without rending the fabric of rural life" (p. 106). While she warns against "a patronizing discourse" of the "zero-sum analysis" (p. 171), her "win-win" (my words) analysis is so pervasive throughout her work that many readers will be skeptical of her conclusions.

Van Hoy has written an important book, if for no other reason than she has challenged so many prevailing views. I respect her underlying theme that the Mexican people were not just victims but agents of their own destiny. Certainly a social history of even one of Mexico's railroads is welcome. To date, the major studies, such as Coatsworth's early work and later studies by Arthur P. Schmidt Jr., Sandra Kuntz Ficker, and Daniel Lewis, mainly approach the topic from an economic or business history perspective.

The author is best where she burrows into railroad working culture; for example, writing about workers who pilfered freight, clocked un-worked hours, and used railroad equipment for their own purposes. And certainly she is right to assert that the trains provided valuable transportation for the region's rural classes (on the Mexican Central third class fares amounted to 73 percent of all passenger revenue), that small farmers benefited from the movement of their goods to markets, and that rural foot travel gained from bridges spanning rivers and ravines. But ultimately she is too often uncritical in her use of evidence, and overly ambitious in her conclusions. This is, after all, essentially a social history of only one, albeit important, railroad. It is not a social history of all of Mexico's railroads.

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JOANNE HERSHFIELD. *Imagining la Chica Moderna: Women, Nation, and Visual Culture in Mexico, 1917-1936*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 200. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Joanne Hershfield's most recent book joins a boom in studies of Mexican visual culture that have followed a



broad “cultural turn” in Mexican historiography since the mid-1990s. Although readers of the *AHR* might be more familiar with the work of Serge Gruzinski or John Mraz, a host of other scholars have contributed to this boom, including those published in Aurelio de los Reyes’s edited volume *La imagen, ¿espejo de la vida?* (2006), which forms part of an important new series on quotidian life in Mexico. As Hershfield notes, the 1920s brought dramatic technological changes in the reproduction and circulation of images, fueling a transnational fascination with the “modern girl”—the young, urban fashionista with bobbed hair and a flapper skirt who smoked a cigarette while driving a mixed-sex carload of friends. The collaborative Modern Girl around the World Research Project at the University of Washington has drawn attention to the role of advertising, films, and fashion magazines as vehicles for celebrating and romanticizing this image of the carefree young female consumer in far-flung areas of the globe.

Hershfield considers a far broader range of images, however, than her title implies. Her book includes not only wonderful reproductions of the quintessential modern girls in cigarette advertisements and society pages but also photographs of cabaret performers and prostitutes, postcards of street vendors, and magazine pieces on female clerical workers and seamstresses. By deploying such a diverse array of images, Hershfield argues that elements of the modern girl—the bobbed hair, public presence, and intrepid gaze—show up in unexpected corners of the republic. In this way, Hershfield deftly maneuvers between acknowledging the ways in which the iconic modern girl traveled internationally upon commercial coattails and exploring the ways her images circulated and changed within Mexico.

Hershfield, who hails from Media Studies and Women’s Studies, makes some analytical gestures that will no doubt alarm many historians. Throughout the book, she points to secondary literature on femininity, domesticity, and consumption from antebellum United States or Victorian Britain as though their findings translate unproblematically to postrevolutionary Mexico. Even the revolution itself receives fairly short shrift as she considers images from the *Porfiriato* and the *Maximato* together as though a widespread civil war and a million deaths had not occurred in the interim. The revolution, whose armed phase concluded just before this book picks up in 1917, appears here only as a distant set of state policies rather than a convulsive social upheaval. Historians will also expect more information about and analysis of the images than Hershfield offers. We learn little or nothing about the provenance of most of the images, much less the thornier issues of circulation and reception. Many images receive only a cursory description and no formal analysis.

Perhaps most provocative for historians is Hershfield’s tendency to make social-history claims without social-history evidence. Although she demurs in the introduction that the book “is not intended to show how people actually lived their lives” (p. 6), Hershfield takes a strong position in an ongoing debate over the rela-

tionship between circulated images and lived experiences. Whereas de los Reyes’s collection asks whether such images are a “mirror of life,” Hershfield asserts that they not only reflected but even defined experience, arguing that “women’s lives were also radically altered by the ubiquitous and often unruly forces of popular visual culture” (p. 157). In the introduction, she links images of a rarefied demographic—the *chica moderna*—with Michel de Certeau’s conception of the purposefulness of everyday life. The feminization of workspaces, she insists, required first that “the idea of clerical work as women’s work and the office space as the proper space for women had to be introduced into the cultural imaginary. This was accomplished to a significant extent through the circulation of images of office women in visual culture” (p. 117). As she stresses, “It is the understanding of visual culture as ‘productive’ that informs this book” (p. 14). As evidence for these images’ impact on daily life, Hershfield points to more images.

Despite these conspicuous disciplinary differences, several aspects of Hershfield’s study recommend it for classroom use. Although specialists might occasionally find themselves frustrated by this volume’s simplifications and elisions, others will find it refreshing that Hershfield countenances directly and without hesitation one of the most significant and pressing methodological challenges for twentieth-century historians: how to address the proliferation of visual sources. Hershfield writes clearly, carefully avoids jargon and cumbersome theoretical digressions, and assumes no prior knowledge of Mexican history. Her book might be productively used in any class that seeks to explore the relationship between visual culture and social life.

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LAURA GOTKOWITZ. *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880–1952*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 398. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

In this important book Laura Gotkowitz offers a compelling reinterpretation of the Bolivian Revolution that emphasizes the long history of rural mobilization preceding the insurrection of 1952. While scholars have tended to focus on the middle class, reformist political projects, and urban-based unions, especially the miners’ union, to explain the insurrectionary movement that brought to power the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR), Gotkowitz argues against conventional understandings of the revolution that efface the participation of Aymara and Quechua-speaking indigenous communities. Her book explores the alliances and disjunctures that structured solidarity between and among rural activists and urban allies during the first half of the twentieth century, with particular emphasis on the city of Cochabamba.

Gotkowitz demonstrates how, in the 1910s and 1920s, a network of indigenous community leaders who re-

ferred to themselves as *caciques apoderados* contested the legacy of nineteenth-century liberalism. They did so by petitioning the state for land, legal protection, and autonomy for indigenous communities, by building ties to urban-based labor organizations, and by exploiting the contradictions of Bolivian liberalism, which extended the possibility of equal rights to everyone but denied rights to supposedly undeserving Indians. Although the *caciques* did not score a clear victory, their legal struggles shaped the emerging contours of rural society. They stemmed the tide of land privatization and put landlords on the defensive well before the upsurge of hacienda-based *colono* protest in the late 1930s and 1940s. The activists' ability to bend the law in favor of rural communities also moved early-twentieth-century politicians to declare that the nineteenth-century liberal reforms outlawing communal land holdings had failed and to advocate for their "renovation." Although the *caciques'* networks were fractured and repressed during the Chaco War (1932–1935), a new generation of peasant and indigenous activists built ties to populist state authorities who came to power in the war's aftermath.

Gotkowitz argues that claims for land and communal rights abated after the war. She explores how constitutional reforms proposed by the 1938 National Convention sought to control another upsurge of rural protest. The reforms did not challenge the place of the Indian in conceptualizations of the Bolivian nation, but they granted new rights to workers, women, and children, and raised expectations of a better life among hacienda *colonos*. Faced with a growing rural revolt, post-Chaco War governments sought to forge national unity through a populist discourse that embraced *mestizaje* as a symbol of strength and identity. Yet the celebration of *mestizaje* continued to subordinate Indians, who challenged their marginalization and pressed their claims in new waves of mobilization.

In an interesting chapter on Bolivia's 1945 Indigenous Congress, Gotkowitz describes the tensions between the government's assimilationist project and indigenous demands for land and rights. Although the Villarroel government attempted to use the congress to unify the nation, control indigenous protests, and advance its own reform program in the countryside, it could not regulate how rural people understood the ambiguous new government decrees that emerged from the congress. Indigenous congressional delegates understood the legislation about exploitation and abuse in a far more radical way than the government intended, and they controlled the interpretation of the law in the countryside. Thus rather than controlling indigenous protest, the 1945 Indigenous Congress fueled a wave of protest that erupted in 1947. Focusing on the Chochabamba Valley and La Paz, Gotkowitz explains how indigenous rebels and hacienda-based *colonos* not only reconfigured the state's ambiguous populist project, but also set forth their own conceptions of justice and the law. Even though the state repressed the 1947 rebel-

lions, rural protests continued until the advent of the 1952 National Revolution.

By placing indigenous communities, hacienda *colonos*, labor unions, and government populists in the same analytic framework, Gotkowitz traces the rural-urban alliances that structured successive periods of rural agitation. As she convincingly demonstrates, the countryside was already in revolt when the urban-based MNR movement came to power in 1952, after only three days of fighting. As Gotkowitz suggests, ignoring the revolution before the revolution makes it impossible to understand the rural upheaval that followed the 1952 insurrection or to grasp the nature of peasant demands for agrarian reform, which were largely independent of the MNR.

This book is a path-breaking work that makes an important contribution to our understanding of popular politics and the ways that indigenous peoples have made and continue to make history in Bolivia. It is essential reading for historians, anthropologists, and Latin Americanists in general.

LESLEY GILL

Vanderbilt University

JOHN SCHULZ. *The Financial Crisis of Abolition*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 193. \$55.00.

Brazil experienced great economic and political transformations in the second half of the nineteenth century. The expansion of coffee production that turned Brazil into the greatest coffee producer in the world occurred at the same time that there was a transformation of the labor force from slaves to free workers of European origin. The abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1850 showed the need to find an alternative source of labor for the expanding coffee fields. The difficulties encountered in the substitution for slave labor postponed the abolition of slavery until 1888. John Schulz's book analyzes the financial crisis provoked by this long process of abolition and by the introduction of free labor on the coffee estates. The declared objective of the book is to demonstrate that the great majority of the Brazilian finance ministers, from the middle of the nineteenth century until 1906, however tied to international interests, were not marionettes controlled by foreigners. They defended the interests of the great planters.

The author shows that the empire adopted conservative monetary policies throughout the second half of the century. The gold standard, though viewed as a model to be followed, was never fully implemented in Brazil. Some banks had authorization to print banknotes, either convertible or non-convertible, due to the various financial crises in the period. The funding arrangements varied but usually these banks were permitted to emit notes backed by gold or treasury bonds. The changes in policies on credit and the emission of banknotes were influenced by reactions to various crises which occurred in the period and by pressure from planters who wanted more favorable credit conditions.

Officials usually favored elite groups and banks in these policies.

The abolition of slavery without compensation to slave owners upset the financial policy of the empire and created pressures for the extension of additional credit to the planters. The introduction of free labor wiped out older and less productive coffee plantation regions in the Valley of Paraíba and shifted the center of coffee production to the West Paulista zone, whose expansion was based on virgin lands in highly productive plains.

Alfonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo, Visconde de Ouro Preto, the prime minister during the last months of the empire, tried to maintain the loyalty of the planters to the monarchy with direct government loans as well as by conceding subsidies to the banks and permitting an unusual expansion of credit. Many new banks were created to take advantage of these government subsidies. According to the author, however, the loans saved neither the insolvent producers of the Paraíba Valley nor the monarchy, but they did set off a speculative boom known as the *Encilhamento*. Besides easy credit, there was a relaxation of the rigid norms that regulated the creation of enterprises. Innumerable businesses and banks were created to take advantage of the lax rules and easy credit available in the speculative boom.

In spite of the efforts of the government to preserve the empire, with the uncompensated abolition of slavery the regime lost the support of the most conservative groups who were its principal supporters. In 1889, one year after abolition, the emperor was deposed and a republic installed in Brazil. The new republican government also tried to obtain the support of the large planters, including those of the Paraíba Valley. For this reason they maintained the policy of loans to the planters, authorizing banknotes to be issued based on government bonds and permitting the banks to make loans on commercial and industrial properties. According to the author, several contemporaries understood that such measures, carried out by the Finance Minister Rui Barbosa, were scandalous and animated the speculative phase of the *Encilhamento* bubble, but they did not effect policy changes.

Only after 1891 did the government reverse itself and institute an orthodox monetary policy, which had a major impact on the economy. Despite its lack of initial success in stabilizing the economy, which was also influenced by the political upheavals of the country, the new policy was maintained by successive governments and finally began to restore the economic viability of the country during the government of Manuel Ferraz de Campos Sales, which began in 1898.

Given the relatively few studies of this complex financial period, this book is an important addition to the literature. It provides a well-researched account of the financial system of Brazil in the second half of the nineteenth century and also important new material on one

of the neglected aspects of the abolition of slavery in Brazil.

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*Universidade de São Paulo*

RAANAN REIN. *In the Shadow of Perón: Juan Atilio Bramuglia and the Second Line of Argentina's Populist Movement*. Translated by MARTHA GRENZEBACK. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 302. \$70.00.

Raanan Rein's book marks an unusual direction in the political history of Argentina by addressing a secondary political leader, namely Juan Bramuglia, who served as foreign minister in the late 1940s. In focusing on the era of Juan Perón and on so-called Peronism, however, the book also forms part of an enormous bibliography that includes many works of high quality but that, in recent years, has dwindled markedly in momentum and interest. In setting up a framework for his study of Bramuglia, the author adduces numerous secondary works published decades ago, along with the now obsolescent controversies they sparked. The chief innovative features of the book consist of new archival sources, which include Bramuglia's personal papers. Overall, the author employs such new data only to amplify existing views of the Peronist movement rather than to subvert them.

The most interesting feature of the book crops up early as Rein lists and examines the five principal figures he defines as the "second line" in the Peronist movement between its formation in 1943 and the early 1960s, by which time Perón himself lived in exile following the overthrow of his government in the military rebellion of 1955. Besides Bramuglia, the five included Ángel Borlenghi, the minister of the interior from 1946 to 1955; Domingo Mercante, a governor of the province of Buenos Aires in the late 1940s; José Figuerola, a Spanish political "theorist" who influenced the corporatist structure of the Perón regime; and lastly Miguel Miranda, another Spaniard, who became minister of finance between 1946 and 1949.

Rein's discussion of these five men in juxtaposition enables him to disentangle several of the basic features of the Peronist movement which the five embodied. Bramuglia and Borlenghi were ex-socialists with long connections with the Argentine trade unions, the entities that formed, in Perón's terminology, the "vertebral column" of his movement. Bramuglia himself had close links with the railroad workers' union, the Unión Ferroviaria, where he served as a legal representative before and during Perón's rise to power. Although he was one of Perón's fellow military officers, Mercante too had extensive labor union connections. He exemplified a second of Perón's principal orientations, namely "the union of the army and the people." Figuerola, a veteran of the conservative military regime of 1920s Spain under Miguel Primo de Rivera, influenced the development of Peronism's hierarchical and authoritarian forms; Perón referred to this aspect of his

movement as “the Organized Community.” Finally, Miranda conceived and implemented the Five Year Plan based on import substitution issued in 1946. The project was meant to run until 1952, although it had largely collapsed by 1949. Many analysts of the Perón era blamed Miranda’s policy for the chronic postwar problems of the Argentine economy.

Viewed alone on his own merits, Bramuglia appeared a less significant figure than when considered a member of the inner core at the heart of the Peronist movement. Rein’s book would have been better served had it dwelt throughout on the coterie as a whole rather than on only one of its members. Bramuglia represented a voice of moderation in support of social reform. This strand flourished intermittently in the Peronist movement until the late 1940s but then disappeared in the much harsher economic and political climate of the early 1950s. Rein properly acknowledges Bramuglia’s achievements during his diplomatic career, particularly the positive role he exercised as president of the United Nations Security Council at the time of the Berlin airlift crisis of 1948. Nevertheless, the principal task Perón assigned to Bramuglia of extracting economic concessions from the United States remained unaccomplished. That critical failure played a major part in the latter’s resignation as foreign minister in 1949. Rein’s book provides informative new data on Bramuglia’s origins, background, and the emergence of his association with Perón. He began his career in the Argentine Socialist Party and ended it on his death in 1962 as something akin to a Christian Democrat, although that specific designation never acquired importance in Argentina. By then, Bramuglia appeared a peripheral figure. He had managed to establish little more than a minuscule and inconsequential political party.

Until his death in 1962 Bramuglia became one of many minor politicians seeking to usurp control over the Peronist movement in order to create “Peronism without Perón.” Rein provides some interesting narrative material and empirical data on the 1955–1962 period but does not create a novel interpretive synthesis. The last section of the book in particular, which presents a partial and fragmentary view of the main issues, illustrates the dangers of structuring an analysis upon a secondary figure of limited significance.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

LIN FOXHALL. *Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece: Seeking the Ancient Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 294. \$117.00.

“May my grandchildren enjoy the olives from the trees I am planting” is a prayer that might have passed the lips of a Mediterranean agriculturalist in antiquity, although that prayer might have been in vain. Olives are a daunting investment: there is no fruit, usually, for

twenty-five to thirty years. In addition, the labor required to tend productive olive trees is both seasonal and erratic; as a result, in ancient times it was best assigned to individuals (slaves) engaged ordinarily in other banal agricultural tasks. It is no surprise that the cultivation of olive trees in antiquity was nearly always located in a diverse productive arrangement.

Lin Foxhall’s new book stems from years of contemplating the ancient Greek economy and the intricacies that go with the territory. More than a narrowly conceived book about olive production, it is in fact about the larger ancient economy, exploring how the cultivation of the olive in archaic and classical Greece (ca. 750–300 B.C.E.) fits into agricultural structures and how it can be read as a cultural manipulation of the natural environment.

After an introduction acquaints us with the olive tree, its outstanding characteristics, its earliest cultivation, and its place (overvalued by most scholars) in the agricultural regimes of pre-Hellenistic Greece, chapter two takes up theoretical issues, which I will not fully rehearse here. Like many ancient historians, Foxhall focuses on the household (the *oikos*, as in *oikonomia*, the “economy”) as “the institutional framework within which production was initiated, executed, and organized” (p. 38); but she wisely champions an approach in which she calls what wealthy households did “domestic production.” This term is superior to “subsistence production,” if by the latter we mean a system that stopped in its tracks whenever enough has been produced. It is possible to extract sufficient information from epigraphical evidence (mostly from Attica) and literary texts (mostly speeches from fourth-century Athens) to conclude that Greek households were compartmentalized in their production, nimble in their allocations of labor, and frequently conscientious in their investments, mostly in the form of improvements to property by the construction of terraces and walls and by the planting of trees and vines, among them the olive tree.

Chapter three looks at large-scale (wealthy) households. Production diversity increased with household size and wealth. Pages 61–68 comprise an excellent case against those who assert that there were significant amounts of terracing before the Hellenistic period (after ca. 300). Likewise it is not at all certain that irrigation (critical in some areas for olive and other trees) was in use in as many places as scholars have assumed (pp. 69–72).

Chapter four is concerned with the consumption of olives, which only the poorer sectors of ancient populations consumed unprocessed. Olive oil was used in three ways: for food and food preparation, cleaning, and lighting. Chapter five is by far the best overview of olive production I have ever read. The discussion of various techniques is exceptionally clear, especially on the many types of propagation: cutting, grafting, layering, and so on. Scholars approaching the ancient economy will be indebted to this.

Chapter six, which takes up a third of the book, is



concerned with the processes of turning olives into olive oil by means of presses and crushers. Non-classicists and non-archaeologists will have some difficulty with this section, at the heart of which is a review of the archaeological evidence for olive presses and other related equipment, focusing on five classical sites and on Hellenistic Delos. Foxhall delivers careful descriptions of presses, with speculations—this is all we can do—about how they operated. In most cases, we cannot tell even what was being pressed, perhaps olives but also grapes and at Delos perhaps perfumes. The tantalizing rotary crusher has been discovered in many locations in varying dimensions. Foxhall also analyzes much of the relevant published surface survey work that has been done in the past few decades, noting that the many olive presses identified by archaeologists may not have ever pressed a single olive or may have been used predominantly on products other than the olive. Since so many pieces of a proper press or crusher were made of wood (and so do not survive), it makes it especially difficult to reconstruct with certainty these pieces of equipment. Foxhall does a terrific job of making the most of the evidence.

A final chapter on arboriculture and ornamental gardens, is interesting but not particularly pertinent except in that it shows us how varied motives could be in the planting of trees. Ornamental gardens were admired most for their symmetries and are good examples of the Greek propensity for display and agonism.

The volume is amply illustrated with helpful archaeological plans and photographs whose content is actually discernible; there are drawings of mechanisms (like presses and crushers) and workshops (showing how mechanisms may have been put to use). Apart from a small number of harmless misspellings and phantom references, errors are few. I come to the defense of Scott Meikle, whose important critiques of Aristotle and of Karl Marx are not diminished by this volume's insistence on misspelling his name Miekle throughout.

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YITZHAK HEN. *Roman Barbarians: The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West*. (Medieval Culture and Society.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xiii, 213. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$26.95.

Forty years ago, Kenneth Clark could assert confidently that "Civilisation had come through" thanks to Charlemagne (*Civilisation: A Personal View* [1969], p. 18). An army of scholars since then, chief among them Pierre Riché, has demonstrated how much Charlemagne and Carolingian civilization in general owed to the activities and achievements of earlier centuries. Some have even detected in the pre-Carolingian age evidence of an "Ostrogothic renaissance," or an "Isidorian renaissance," or even a "Northumbrian renaissance." Yitzhak Hen's new book goes over this familiar terrain but focuses special attention on the royal courts of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric (493–526), the Van-

dal King Thrasamund (496–523), the Frankish Kings Chlothar II (613–629) and Dagobert I (629–639), and the Visigothic King Sisebut (611/612–621).

Despite the different intellectual, religious, and political contexts of each king and of each kingdom, Hen contends that they shared "a common undeclared ideology of kingship" that bound court and culture together (p. 3). "Culture" for the purposes of this analysis means literary or written culture, and Hen has no difficulty in documenting the high level of literary culture associated with each court and in some cases with the kings themselves. In this respect, Hen brings the scholarship on pre-Carolingian court culture up to date. Each of the chapters on the courts and their respective intellectual cultures are gems that can be appreciated on their own terms as case studies in cultural patronage. The book's last chapter, "Postcards from the Edge," continues the story right up to Charlemagne by visiting several eighth-century courts on the cusp of the Carolingian age. Hen offers these as additional and more proximate models of cultural patronage that might have inspired Clark's great hero. In addition to the compelling case studies of royal courts, the book raises a larger question about the motivation for cultural patronage which the case studies do not seem to be able to answer. Even without explicit statements about their intentions, we easily accept that kings minted coins; established political networks; fostered trade; equipped, nurtured, and retained armed men; or sought religious backing and comfort. Yet, analyzing royal cultural patronage requires the problematic quest for motivation (p. 22), which leads in multitudinous directions toward piety, self-aggrandizement, emulation, and political ends, among others.

But does culture or even the patronage of culture require us to identify extrinsic motives? Humans think, talk, argue, and sometimes write about things that matter to them. Kings, gifted with resources and talented people, performed these cultural acts on a grander and more permanent scale. They participated in a common undeclared expressive humanity. What Hen's important discussion suggests is that royal cultural activity was not exceptional and even that Charlemagne may not have needed models.

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LEIDULF MELVE. *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030–1122)*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 154.) In two volumes. Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. x, 346; 350–770. \$247.00 the set.

Historians of the premodern world—alongside their natural allies, historians of the "non-West," postcolonialism, and indigeneity—have begun to counter claims that locate the public sphere solely in modern Europe, make it dependent on modern media, and measure it by the Enlightenment's yardstick. This book does not contribute to that effort or engage this broad public. Few



scholars of the phenomenon known as “the Investiture Contest” will have studied the “open room” for public discourse (*Öffentlichkeit*) that Jürgen Habermas found in certain northern European towns during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; conversely, few of those familiar with that paradigm can be expected to know much about eleventh-century documentary practices, medieval canon law, or the intricate historiography of this reforming movement. Those who are both able and willing to follow Leidulf Melve’s argument will have reservations about the methodology and conclusions. And those convinced that there was a medieval public sphere will not find it here.

As a work of synthesis, this revision of Melve’s doctoral dissertation is impressive. The bibliography runs to seventy-five pages, the footnotes are substantial, and the author is well qualified to comment on the state of research into certain key questions. He analyzes all of the major texts associated with papal and imperial apologists working in various locales over nearly a century. His goal is twofold. First, he aims to show that the medieval public sphere engendered by this nexus of debate exhibits a “structural transformation” akin to that articulated by Habermas, and that it evolved in a series of distinct textual phases. Of this, the reviewer remains unconvinced. Second, Melve strives to establish that arguments made on both sides meet the criteria for rationality that are essential, according to Habermas and others, for the formation of a public sphere. This he certainly achieves, but at inordinate length.

What remain unexplored are how this public sphere actually functioned and the larger milieu in which texts were created and deployed. The vast majority of meaningful communications exchanged during this period, including those of intellectuals, were not confined to writing; complex vocabularies of speech, gesture, image, and ceremony did much of the work. This fact should affect the way one looks for, and at, the evidence. How might a reliance on oral and symbolic media have influenced both the debates and the sources that have survived to bear witness to them? And what if only some of these sources made it into this study’s archive, the canon of monumental Germanic history that is the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (whose editorial agenda Melve does not seem to regard as problematic)? Melve insists on the primacy of texts, but he ignores their clamorous efforts to make themselves heard, and their expansive overtures to the world beyond their margins. He exhausts their contents, but does not consider how their physical and experiential formats—open letters, pamphlets (*libelli*), sermons, dialogues, and songs—would affect the transmission (or suppression) and popularity (or obscurity) of the messages they expressed, or how these genres responded to the needs of various audiences and public situations; nor does he account for salient contributions to the debate that would have been conveyed through other media (liturgy, pageantry, the visual arts) or never written down. Although he claims to “take into account the importance of symbolic communication” (p. 17) and per-

vasive orality, this nowhere informs his reading of communication’s textual residue. Instead, he believes that “basic literacy is a necessary condition” of public-sphere formation (p. 18) and nonliterate modes of communication await the “intellectual progression” bestowed by writing (p. 15). This will not stand up to scrutiny. Some citizens of ancient Athens were capable of rational thought, yet their public sphere developed virtually independent of literacy, even (e.g., Socrates) in opposition to it. Beyond that, can any medievalist safely assert, as Melve does, that the Investiture Contest amounted to the *only* public sphere discernible in that entire millennium?

Fundamentally, then, this book does not enlarge the public sphere or offer a useful alternative to the prevailing model. The central question remains: must medieval—or non-Western, or subaltern—public spheres adhere to the dictates of modernity?

According to Melve, “Habermas does not show a great interest in the medieval public sphere” (p. 7). This is misleading. Not only did Habermas dismiss the idea of a medieval public sphere out of hand, his public sphere was in large part based on a caricature of the Middle Ages that has been decisively corrected since 1962. Yet Habermas, to his credit, never argued that newspapers *constituted* the public sphere; his public sphere was inhabited, emerging in spaces smoke-filled, gritty, and loud, where debate was fueled not just by reason but by passion, sentiment, alcohol, and caffeine. In Melve’s public sphere, there are no living people; there are only texts.

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FRÉDÉRIC BOUTOULLE. *Le duc et la société: Pouvoirs et groupes sociaux dans la Gascogne bordelaise au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1075–1199)*. (Scripta Mediævalia, number 14.) Bordeaux: Ausonius, with the Conseil général de la Gironde and l’Association Historique des Pays de Branne. 2007. Pp. 439. €30.00.

The main objective of this book is to fill a gap in the history of the so-called “*dominium*,” of the Bordelais and Bazadais regions (parts of the duchy of Aquitaine) during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The authority of the duke of Aquitaine slowly strengthened in these two counties from the second half of the twelfth century onward, and along with it the power of the Plantagenet dynasty, finally giving the region a proper feudal structure.

In addition to going beyond a strictly political history of the region (thanks to Frédéric Boutoulle’s use of cartularies), this book also provides a new reading of the local structures of power and the fidelity networks that allowed lordship to be exercised and legitimated. As a result, the author’s approach is fundamentally legal, as he attempts to define as precisely as possible the two notions of “*dépendance*,” in its contractual forms, and “*dominium*,” the content and extent of lordly power.

The study focuses on a period that has been generally regarded, at least toward the beginning, as a time of transformation with, in particular, the apparition and extension of the so-called "*seigneurie banale*." The main conclusion and contribution of the book, however, is to reveal that before the marriage of the Duchess Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry II Plantagenet (1152), there were no serious signs of the usual elements of feudalism in this region, such as the development of a castral network or the existence of strict feudal bonds between the lords. From this perspective the book offers a serious and balanced discussion of the thesis of the eleventh-century mutation.

In numerous aspects the author employs interesting approaches, underlining the original characteristics of the region during the major part of the period: a practical division of power among the duke, the lords, and the peasant communities (which appear to have been very strong, ancient, and well-structured); the extension of the duke's domain, which allowed him to control local and castral lordships, except in the north (Dordogne); the structures of the aristocratic families, for which the anthropological principles of filiation and alliance are attentively observed and described. Boutoulle argues that the notion of "*lignage*" is an inaccurate descriptor of these structures, as has also been shown for other southern regions such as Provence. However, the apparently egalitarian principle of the inheritance could be overturned—by the exercise of the right of "*poursuite*," for instance—in order to control patrimonial transactions.

This review lacks the space to grapple with all the issues brought up in the book, and so it will focus on a peculiar legal point, the question of the tenure system. The observation of the rather late instauration of the feudal structures in this region is largely grounded in the study of the political characteristics of the fief, which did not require military service and the performance of an "*homage*" until the second half of the twelfth century. In fact, considering the fief as a land tenure rather than as a political entity seems to be the key to resolving this chronological question. It would be more expedient to observe the local legal system of the tenure, whether noble or not, and its evolution in order to ask how the lords—including the duke—managed to control the circulation of land. This regulation can be considered as a political strategy. In considering the fief as a vehicle for the exercise and redistribution of lordly power, it is important to keep in mind that the legal definition was as strong and significant as the political one.

This book is a major contribution to the political history of Aquitaine during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It gives very clever and meticulous analyses while offering numerous ideas to pursue further.

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C. S. WATKINS. *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and

Thought, Fourth Series, number 66.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 271. \$99.00.

This book seeks to reconstruct the reality of religious culture in England over "a (very) long twelfth century" (p. 3) that extends roughly from 1066 to the early thirteenth century. While this immediately makes the book less wide-ranging than its title suggests, it is still a significant work. For his core evidence in the enterprise, C. S. Watkins turns not to institutional ecclesiastical documents but to the twelfth-century historians. Accordingly, the main sources are Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, Gerald of Wales, Walter Map, and Gervase of Tilbury—but they are only the leaders of a larger host. Watkins's labors result in a fascinating, engrossing, and highly readable volume, one that should entrance undergraduates and that will also be appreciated by more advanced scholars.

Following a theorizing introduction, Watkins adopts a thematic approach. His concerns are in most cases aptly summarized in the titles for his six chapters: "Thinking about the Supernatural," "Inventing Pagans," "Prayers, Spells and Saints," "Special Powers and Magical Arts," "Imagining the Dead," and "Thinking with the Supernatural." Nevertheless, although this book focuses on the "supernatural," exactly what that meant at the time is imprecise: "although in a formal theological sense the supernatural did not exist as a formal intellectual category in the twelfth century, the embryo of the idea had already come into being" (p. 19). Assuming that the cited authors knew what they were talking about, Watkins goes with their flow. Much of his analysis is aimed at the boundary between practices that could be accepted within Christianity and those that were not: a fluid and fluctuating process of differentiation that, over time, actually legitimates superstition, rather than excluding it. This is particularly evident in the two chapters whose titles are least immediately indicative of their content. "Inventing Pagans" explores the problem of the nature of religious culture, contrasting a widespread practical religion that solved problems with the more intellectualized (theologized) religion that emerged over the twelfth century, and would become the type of religion spread through the pastoral revolution of the thirteenth. Here "superstition" is defined as reliance on practice to achieve results: in the twelfth century, before things changed, "ritual action was still fundamental in shaping a religious experience which was for the ordinary faithful more cultic than meditative" (p. 104).

Likewise, the twelfth-century writers engaged in "Imagining the Dead" were dealing with ghost stories that did not fit into the Christian cosmology, yet at a time when Purgatory was emerging as a significant theological concept to accommodate (and possibly respond to) widespread reluctance to accept that death fixed the fate of the soul. Tales of the returning dead provided useful and malleable narratives for both theological and social comment. In general, "These were stories outside

the rules" (p. 225); as such they allowed the rules to be flouted, and thereby provided material to work with.

The shift from thinking *about* the supernatural in chapter one to thinking *with* it in chapter six is perhaps the book's key progression. As the supernatural became more conceivable and respectable it had to be accommodated within new paradigms, as its conflicts with the new intellectualism of the twelfth-century renaissance emphasized dissonances between what can only (but inadequately) be labelled "popular practice" and "elite perceptions." The supernatural could not be abolished; it had to be reconceived. Accordingly, despite the contemporary intellectual movement, "the 'rise' of practical reason, just like the rise of speculative reason, did not roll the supernatural back in a straightforward fashion but rather created new contexts in which it was obliged to work" (pp. 233–234).

While focused on the twelfth century, and on England, this volume has much broader relevance. Its concerns resonate throughout the later Middle Ages, and not just in England. The discussion of prayers and charms, for instance, is part of the longer evolution and wider dissemination discussed by Don Skemer, and which plays a significant part in the "traditional religion" that Eamon Duffy has delineated for the pre-Reformation century. The unquiet dead not only provide protagonists for supporters of Purgatory, but have their later successors in the fifteenth-century "Byland ghost stories" or the widely spread account of the ghost of Alès. Diabolic spirits are not especially prominent in Watkins's repertoire, yet night-flying women, and the occasional diabolic suggestion, offer a foretaste of the later panics over witchcraft and pacts with the devil. This is, in short, a valuable and rewarding examination of a key transitional period. It should appeal to anyone with an interest in twelfth-century England; it is also an important work for scholars working on religion and spirituality throughout medieval Europe.

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LOUISA A. BURNHAM. *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 217. \$39.95.

On Friday, March 14, 1298, the Franciscan Peter Olivi died in Narbonne. Local men, women, and children soon venerated his body. Olivi's tomb exuded sweet aromas and swathed supplicants with cloak-like warmth. His relics healed the sick; his writings on poverty and the Apocalypse equaled the Gospels. Some of these pilgrims perhaps identified themselves as "the poor brothers and sisters of penitence," as the Third Order of the Rule of Saint Francis. A year after Olivi's death an ecclesiastical council in Béziers censured (without naming heretics) men and women who, embracing evangelical poverty, preaching the imminent arrival of the Antichrist, "are commonly called Be-

guins." Eighteen years later Pope John XXII condemned as heretics those "called *fraticelli*, or brothers of poor life, or *bizzochi* or Beguins" living in Italy, Sicily, Provence, Narbonne, and Toulouse. These "Beguins" were the Spiritual Franciscans, those friars who saw themselves as truly imitating Christ in the manner of Francis of Assisi, who dressed more plainly (and raggedly) than other Franciscans, who celebrated the legacy of Olivi when other Franciscans did not, and who saw little or no distinction between themselves and the lay Third Order. Confusingly, inquisitors in Toulouse and Carcassonne responded to the papal condemnation by judging any man or woman to be a "Beguin" if he or she emulated (or simply admired) the Spiritual Franciscans generally and Olivi in particular. A cruel clarity quickly overwhelmed this terminological confusion and, in less than two decades of interrogation and immolation, the inquisition eliminated these Beguins from the towns and villages of southern France. Louisa A. Burnham tells this story of the men and women persecuted as Beguins with archival erudition and passionate sympathy.

Twelve Franciscans, six priests, sixty-eight men, and sixteen women were burned as Beguins between 1318 and 1329. All of them were exalted as martyrs by surviving Beguins. "They did not cry out or say a word," Berenguier Jaoul recalled after watching ten men and seven women burning at Lunel in 1321, "and it was very beautiful to see." The next morning friends and relatives returned to the smoldering ashes and collected bits and pieces of charred bone and flesh as relics. One man hauled away an entire woman's torso. Two brothers carried off their sister's heart. The Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui observed that some Beguins made "calendars," inscribing "the names of the condemned and the days or calends on which they suffered like martyrs." In 1325 the Beguin Prous Boneta told other Beguins that they should prepare themselves for immolation. "You must free your body for martyrdom if it should come," she said. "Everything depends on one's point of view" is Burnham's flippant comment on Beguin martyrdom. "Whereas the inquisitors spoke of *condemnation* the Beguins spoke of *persecution* . . . What were *heretics* to the inquisitors were variously *glorious martyrs*, *martyrs for Jesus Christ*, *martyrs and saints*, and *saved and holy martyrs in Paradise*" (p. 85). Historical reality is usually more complicated. The Beguins were simultaneously heretics and martyrs to themselves and to other Christians (and even to an inquisitor like Gui). They realized that without being one they could not be the other. This was holiness achieved by the persecuted through their persecution. The Beguins needed the violence of the inquisitors if they were to be glorious martyrs. The fact that they functioned within sacred rhythms mostly shaped by their persecutors does not diminish either the sincerity of their beliefs or the sacrifice of their lives.

Burnham disagrees and adopts a deliberately heartfelt approach to the Beguins. A studious intellectual naïveté permeates the book as if her (and so our) un-

ambiguous empathy with the Beguins would shatter at any hint of historiographic worldliness. This is why the Cathars are so important to her. The history of these heretics, unchanged for more than a century, provides the social and religious narrative into which the Beguins can be inserted and so explained. The Cathars are why southern France was “a hot spot for heresies” (p. 177). Of course, Burnham knows other scholars have recently challenged this Cathar historiography, so much so that nothing remains except a few lingering myths, yet she writes as if no one has ever doubted it. This reliance on shopworn ideas about heresy frequently undermines Burnham’s obvious talent as an historian. The promise of her impressive research in the notarial archives of Montpellier is never fulfilled because what she discovered was not quite what she wanted. Indeed, at one point, she completely forgoes any responsibility to her archival evidence and indulges in a few pages of historical fiction or, as she calls it, “imaginative reconstruction” (p. 120). Burnham has nevertheless written a worthy book on the Beguins, allowing us to see their “light shine through the clouds once again” (p. 188).

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CAROL LANSING, *Passion and Order: Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 244. \$45.00.

Carol Lansing’s eclectic study examines the legislation concerning mourning practices in the Italian communes of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although this book includes some evidence from Perugia and Bologna, the chief focus is on Orvieto, where Lansing found the most complete records of statutes and sentences for funerary infractions. Her goal is to move beyond the explanations of pioneers of the field, such as Diane Hughes, who saw this legislation largely in the context of sumptuary laws intended to restrain noble display and factionalism. She hopes to show that the communes’ attempt to restrain grief revealed a recognition of the power of “male subjectivity” and emotion—an “intense grief”—that threatened the political order of the commune (p. 187). With particular emphasis on gendered constructions of grief and ritual, this study ranges beyond legal statutes to a wide array of sources including literary works, artistic depictions, sermons, and devotional practices.

Appropriately, the book begins and ends with a detailed analysis of the political history of Orvieto, which, typical of many late medieval communes, imported *podestà* to curb factionalism, saw the triumph of a popular guild regime in the second half of the thirteenth century, and yielded to signorial rule by the fourteenth. Shortly after the ascent of Orvieto’s popular regime in the 1280s, funeral statutes began to be enforced that resulted in an accumulated 220 sentences by the century’s end. Between the political accounts, where Lansing is most sure-footed, this study meanders back and

forth across time and genre to consider views of male grief—identified as a duty and component of noble honor, as exemplified by Charlemagne’s grief for Roland—and the more common consignment of grief to the “weaker” and “erotic” female realm and/or to the dangerous realm of religious doubt. She also presents an engaging analysis of the increasing religious appropriation of grief in the medieval period, when sorrow took an evermore contritional turn and the church attempted to channel lay laments into liturgical chants. The book’s most compelling section treats the anthropological, and sometimes droll, survey of funerary customs in Boncompagno da Signa’s *Rhetorica antiqua* (1215) and analyzes Albertano da Brescia’s *Liber consolationis et consilii* (1246), a dialogue in which a nobleman, inclined to exact revenge for a grievous attack on his family, is tamed by Stoic counsels and yields in the interest of civic concord. This latter treatise, which Lansing calls her “smoking gun” (p. 10), is indeed her best literary source. Less apt is a treatment of Petrarch’s changing views of grief in the mid-fourteenth century, a transformation depicted as paralleling the political restraint of grief sought in communal legislation. Instead, Petrarch’s move toward Stoic calm should be seen in a more discrete, individualized context: namely, his psychological development from the “sweet grief” of the vernacular love poet to the sterner ways of the Latin humanist and moralist.

Lansing’s book does not succeed in showing that the communal concern for male mourning practices was based on an acknowledgment of the power of subjective grief. In fact, most of the evidence she presents confirms the conventional view that the feared “passion” was not really bereavement but rather noble anger, pride, and factional rivalry. Surely, the 129 (!) men fined at the funeral of Lotto Morichelli in 1288 (her major example) were not truly suffering grief or even perceived as such—they were displaying a corporate solidarity potentially threatening to civic harmony. As Lansing’s analysis shows, the proportionately largest group of the 220 individuals sentenced in Orvieto were knights, the traditional target of anti-magnatial legislation in the popular guild commune. Given that this enforcement of funeral violations occurred in the wake of the triumph of the popular regime in the 1280s, the Occam’s razor explanation holds: the commune wanted to repress patrician rivalry by curbing lavish dress and ceremony. Thus, Lansing perhaps misses the mark when she says “men weeping and crying out in the streets and ripping their beards posed no real threat to public order” (p. 187), but she has it right when she cites the fact that “one chronicler in particular connected noble ambitions for leadership and the resultant killings with the funeral grief and revenge that reinforced loyalty, affection, and obligation among nobles and their clients” (p. 203). Moreover, despite a few exceptions she cites, she finds that “many of the mourners came from houses associated with the Ghibelline faction and even houses linked to Cathar heresy” (p. 70). As for her observation that only two of 220 sentences involved



women, this only reinforces the likelihood that factional violence, the province of men, was the targeted behavior.

A second problem with the study is the omission of any treatment of the role of the funeral oration or funeral sermon. In fact, an analysis of this realm would have greatly enriched an understanding of the commune's interest in redirecting ritualized anger through rhetorical mediation. As John McManamon has argued, models of funeral orations to be used by *podestà* began to appear in the thirteenth-century commune, and the *ars praedicandi* spawned examples as well. In fact, one of the figures Lansing cites, the Dominican Remigio de' Girolami of Florence, composed some of the earliest funeral sermons extant from the period. Pinpointing when the *corrotto*—the rhythmic counting of the deceased's virtues that Boncompagno suggests characterized the funeral lament—generally came to be replaced by the praise of the dead in a funeral oration would be a useful measure for determining when the response to death moved from (uncontrolled) ritual to (controlled) rhetoric.

In assembling a wide range of literary and visual examples of grief and mourning rituals from the ancient, patristic, and medieval periods, Lansing's book is a good introduction to this field for students. Her survey of premodern perceptions of male vs. female bereavement makes an interesting contribution to gender studies, and her wide-ranging synthesis of secondary literature offers a useful guide to scholarship across several disciplines. As a piece of research, however, the book suffers from a narrow source base in terms of its main focus on funerary legislation, and this perhaps accounts for the text's considerable repetition and propensity for digression. In the end, Lansing's goal to explore the emotions behind medieval mourning rituals is elusive, as her evidence largely confirms that funeral legislation was not driven by psychological concerns but rather social and political ones.

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BARBARA A. HANAWALT. *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 317. Cloth \$74.00, paper \$19.95.

This study regards women in fourteenth and fifteenth-century London as "conduits of capital," arguing that such an approach enables us to follow them through the course of the life cycle. Much of the focus is on soft economic history, very much in step with recent studies of the history of London; Barbara A. Hanawalt's particular concern is "the money and property that passed through women in the form of inheritance, dowry, dower, and their role in the consumer economy." Women played important, active roles in the economy: skilled workers in the silk trade, supervisors of apprentices, brewsters, managers running workshops as widows (or perhaps as heiresses in their own right), huck-

sters of small goods, and fringe players in retail sales. Against these more active if not always salubrious roles we find women functioning as agents or transmitters, for instance, the recipient of a dowry that her husband was allowed to invest and use for life, or the widow whose next husband might court her with an acquisitive eye on her share and her children's shares of her late husband's property.

Hanawalt's focus on women's economic roles and activities is a bold way to explore the roles and lives of urban women. Late medieval London may not have offered a "golden age" for women, but there were many opportunities, and the city fathers took women (as wives, heiresses, and widows) seriously enough to tailor laws of partible inheritance, to be concerned with the fate of orphan girls, and to give women the right to sue on their own behalf (as well as to be sued). In London courts women could press claims to their share of a late husband's estate or even to their father's estate—and the records indicate that many of the city's widows knew their rights and knew how to follow court procedures to obtain what was theirs. Because much of the economic focus of London ran along horizontal rather than vertical lines, women acting as bridges between families and households was deemed to be in the general interest, as it was in the interest of the women who figure in the many case studies Hanawalt offers.

This study rests on the intensive use and close reading of the rich records of the medieval city; London, as one would imagine, has the fullest body of extant sources of any English city. Hanawalt comes to this book with powerful credentials, resting on a long record of scholarly publication. She has had a say about the role and status of women, children, families, crime and violence, widows, remarriage, life in medieval London, and even cultural studies. She has a deft hand for the case study that drives home the broader assessment. Here the records of virtually all the city's courts and governing bodies have been brought into play, especially those of the Corporation Record Office and the Guildhall Library Archives. In addition to touching on main categories and obvious topics for explicating the lives of women (as in the chapters on "Education and Apprenticeship," "Women as Entrepreneurs," or "Recovery of Dower and Widows' Remarriage"), Hanawalt looks at many side roads: broken promises to marry, a woman beaten by her apprentice, and other such realistic—if fleeting—glimpses of city life. For virtually all of the topics explicated there is an anecdote or a tantalizing court case (whose resolution is usually unknown, that being the nature of such records). These stories combine to form a tableau of the typical and the prosaic, giving life to the general assessments, statistical summaries, and comparative percentages for men and women in particular fields of endeavor (though the numbers are admittedly more likely to be advisory than conclusive).

Highlighting the social and economic ramifications of the "constrained patriarchy" of medieval London and championing those women who were able to hold their



own does not hide the reality that it was a tough scramble; many of the “sisters” of those who figure in the success stories came up short. Although a woman of means—the daughter-heiress of a London craftsman or the widow of a prosperous and well-connected merchant—might have had the space and time in which to construct a life strategy that combined elements of and opportunities for manipulation and accommodation, we must remember that London was the great maw of England. It chewed up its own young, and it especially chewed up the young who came there to make their way. It was probably even harder on young women—those with few years, few resources, and few friends. It was they, or at least some of their ranks, who would be tricked into prostitution, forced as domestic servants to endure sexual abuse in the master’s household, or enticed for apprenticeships and training that turned out to be scams.

This book is a valuable summary of a complex subject, placed in the context of major themes and areas of scholarly inquiry. The author’s usual deft touch in combining numbers, case studies, comparative material, and broad and well-informed judgments shows to advantage. It follows from her earlier work on these subjects, and it makes a strong contribution to a field of perennial interest.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MICHAEL KRONDL. *The Taste of Conquest: The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice*. New York: Ballantine Books. 2007. Pp. 304. \$25.95.

Michael Krondl has flung his bark into bustling waters, crowded with historians and popular writers who have ventured to write about spices. New histories of the spice trade include books like Andrew Dalby’s *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices* (2000), Jack Turner’s *Spice: The History of a Temptation* (2004), John Keay’s *The Spice Route: A History* (2005), and Paul Freedman’s *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (2008). These all have their strengths, but Krondl’s book is unique. First, it is a fine example of how popular history writing can be rigorous and entertaining at the same time. There are passages of true wit here: “trying to figure out what fourteenth-century Europeans actually ate based on elite cookbooks is about as easy as extrapolating the typical American’s diet from a Martha Stewart entertaining guide” (p. 82). Indeed.

Second, Krondl manages to keep his head level in choppy seas, taking on many of the popular misconceptions about spices as well as some academic ones. Professional historians might take umbrage at his nitpicking in their direction, especially since he is drawing from the work of recent historians in doing so. Nonetheless, he is almost always on target with his com-

ments. For example, the bugbear that medieval diners ate food absolutely smothered in spice: they liked it a lot, but in no greater quantities than we might enjoy in an Indian restaurant today. He also sinks another widely held misconception, that spices were ridiculously expensive. Krondl compares their cost with other luxury items, showing that some spices, especially pepper, could be afforded by the middling ranks of society, much the same way extra virgin olive oil is enjoyed today. The typical comparison of spices with beluga caviar and Dom Pérignon just doesn’t float. Spices were expensive but still affordable to many, which of course explains why everyone wanted a piece of the action: to profit from the buoyant demand. Krondl shows that the spice trade was not merely a clean succession of three dominant powers; the Venetians held onto much of the trade a good century after the Portuguese rounded the Cape and made direct contact with India and beyond. The Portuguese in turn held onto ports like Goa and Macao nearly to the present, despite Amsterdam’s, or rather the East India Company’s, pilfering of what is today Indonesia.

The real strength of this book, however, is its biographical coverage of these three cities: Venice, Lisbon, and Amsterdam. Krondl weaves his tale seamlessly from the past to the present; he has gone to these places to breathe in the faint lingering aromas on the wharves and has met the people whose ancestors, real or figurative, imported spices from the far ends of the earth. For the historian buried in stacks of books, this can only arouse jealousy—not only for the opportunity to travel and interview intriguing characters, but because it really does work as history. We are shown how the present is shaped by the past. We come to understand how and why Venice went from the powerhouse of the medieval Mediterranean, to a tourist destination (which Krondl compares with Las Vegas), how Portugal rose from a poor backward city to a world power, only to be muscled aside by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. He discusses the motives of each city, its navigational technology, and how the form of government and economy of each, as well as the values of its inhabitants, noble and nefarious, inspired the voyages. Krondl not only stalks the familiar haunts of long-gone sailors, he tastes the food for traces of former redolence. In almost every respect, these are fallen cities, just as the vibrant cuisine of Europe five centuries past has disappeared.

The book is not merely about Europe either; it covers the origins of spices in India and Indonesia, of grains of paradise in West Africa, and the many middlemen in various periods, Malacca in the East and Alexandria in the West. Krondl resists glorifying his subjects. These were sometimes unimaginably brutal people; spices came at a great cost not only to Europeans but to their producers, who were pushed around, systematically exploited, and sometimes persecuted outright. The parallels to the modern global economy are not spelled out, but they are implicit throughout. This book shows us not only how these three cities took center stage in shaping the modern world, but also how the present was

profoundly transformed by a lust for bits of bark, roots, and berries about which we scarcely give a moment's thought today.

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FRANÇOIS CROUZET. *La guerre économique franco-anglaise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Fayard. 2008. Pp. 424. €29.00.

François Crouzet's comparative analysis of the English and French export sectors in a range of global markets in the eighteenth century is the culmination of his distinguished career as an economic historian. Crouzet has done early modern scholarship a huge favor by crafting a collective work based on statistical data from customs records compiled by numerous researchers from a wide range of archives. It is an important reference work that brims with quantitative data, commodity-specific histories, and analyses per market. Crouzet's opus should be valued for what it sets out to deliver; it is not meant to be a page-turner. It is ironic that the statistics that make this book so useful also threaten to overwhelm the reader, which makes the complete lack of graphs an inexcusable omission. Even a single graph per chapter—with one line for France and one for England—would provide an instant grasp of each nation's commercial performance over the course of the century and of the rivals' relative strength in any particular regional market at a specific point in time.

Crouzet starts off with an in-depth discussion of the limits of his sources, including the perennial problem of systematic under-reporting of values and volumes by merchants desperate to limit their tax burden; the different ways in which customs officials registered exports and imports; and the discrepancies between official and market prices. Outright smuggling or interloping—pervasive and systematic—obviously never yielded statistical evidence, but using the most reliable estimates Crouzet gives smuggling its proper due and proves that it was a vital component of worldwide trade.

Each of the twelve regional or national markets is treated as a stand-alone chapter in which Crouzet systematically presents the most up-to-date statistics on the volume and values of the key commodities imported into, and exported from, that market. He fleshes out the raw economic data with a careful analysis of the factors that shaped each market, and discusses the impact of export-oriented trade on the two domestic economies. The first half of the book deals with English and French trade with other European countries. Chapter two features the well-established but relatively modest exchanges between France and England, often disrupted by wars and perennially subject to protective tariffs. Crouzet then covers the two Iberian nations whose extensive colonial territories absorbed significant portions of the imports into Spain and Portugal proper. In exchange, the English returned home with Portuguese salt and wines plus Brazilian gold and diamonds, while French merchants remained more interested in the lu-

crative Spanish market that yielded profits in highly desirable silver from the Americas.

In the chapter on the Levant, Crouzet examines how the French share of that trade, dominated by merchants from Marseille, increased as the century progressed. European exports to the region remained modest, however, as the Ottoman Empire served primarily as a supply zone of high-value goods. The chapters on North America and the East Indies (Asia) highlight England's growing economic power but pay insufficient attention to the continuing significance of Dutch participation in those markets. The two important chapters on the sugar trade and the slave trade should have been paired; by positioning these at either end of the book Crouzet complicates any cross-examination of the twin trades.

The penultimate chapter deals with actual warfare. Crouzet evaluates how the War of the Austrian Succession (1744–1748), the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and the American War of Independence (1776–1781) both disrupted and stimulated commerce, and how these wars changed the political-economic landscape. Crouzet emphasizes the crucial role of the Royal Navy in the creation of Britain's economic (and territorial) empire, so his conclusion that “the Franco-Anglo rivalry was in a way more military and political than commercial” almost marginalizes the book's title (p. 387). He stops short, however, from expounding on the strong link between state power and economic power. Fiscal policies yield revenues that finance navies and armies, which protect commerce but also empower states to increase their hold over rich markets. A brief discussion of John Brewer's definitive study on this topic, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (1989), would have strengthened this section.

Crouzet's decision to evaluate each specific market commodity-by-commodity is probably the only workable approach for a quantitative project of this scope, but it makes the book rather choppy as the reader repeatedly restarts the eighteenth century. The extensive bibliography covers important monographs and articles—albeit in French and English only—that incorporate trade statistics from numerous archives the world over. International economic history can be comprehensive if an experienced scholar organizes and analyzes the combined output of a multinational group of researchers, and with this book Crouzet has done justice to his contributors by delivering comparative economic history at its best.

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WOLFRAM KAISER. *Christian Democracy and the Origins of European Union*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 374. \$105.00.

Reconciliation is a Catholic sacrament as well as a political process of overcoming deep-rooted differences and forging agreement on bitterly contentious ques-

tions. In the context of post-World War II European political and economic integration, reconciliation has both a sacred and a secular connotation, at least for leading Christian Democratic proponents of Franco-German rapprochement and incipient European unity. Wolfram Kaiser's excellent book explores not only the Christian Democratic roots of European integration policy, but also—more specifically—the intricate transnational links among Christian Democratic parties that underpinned the institutionalization of integration in the 1950s, first in the European Coal and Steel Community and then in the European Economic Community. So central is cross-border networking by Christian Democrats to the thesis of the book that the word “transnational” is conspicuous by its absence from the title.

In a brief introduction, Kaiser locates his book in the historiography of European integration and in the burgeoning political science literature on European Union governance. He dismisses, on the one hand, the exaggerated endeavors of Walter Lippens in the 1970s to explain European integration as the inevitable successor to a dysfunctional sovereign-state system, and, on the other, the hegemonic view of Alan Milward, propagated in the 1980s and early 1990s, that states remained firmly in control and manipulated European integration in order to achieve specific policy objectives. Kaiser sees European integration not in state-centric terms but as a process shaped decisively by transnational networks of like-minded politicians haunted by the specter of Franco-German enmity and confronted by specific economic and strategic challenges. The network that influenced European integration most profoundly consisted of emergent Christian Democratic parties.

Nearly half the book covers the prewar and wartime precursors of postwar Christian Democratic networks. Yet the failure of such networks to emerge in the unpropitious circumstances of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries emphasizes the extent to which Europe after 1945 differed radically from the past. Leading Christian Democratic figures in the postwar period, such as Konrad Adenauer, Alcide De Gasperi, and Robert Schuman, were old enough to have had long careers in the first decades of the century. Their ability after 1945 to exploit newfound opportunities for transnational networking in the cause of European integration was a striking departure that illustrates the uniqueness of the postwar period. Christian Democratic networks, centered on the *Nouvelles Équipes Internationales* and the confidential Geneva Circle, facilitated the exchange of ideas, helped buttress domestic positions, and allowed their members to leverage political influence in order to recast postwar Western Europe along supranational lines.

Christian Democracy became the dominant political movement after 1945 by default, due to the failure of social democracy to build a broad constituency beyond the non-communist left. Changes in the international system, notably the emergence of the Cold War, as well

as an inherent sympathy for supranationalism and a more accommodating Vatican position on political participation, favored the ascendancy of Christian Democracy in continental Western Europe. By contrast, a markedly different political culture and a more inclusive Labour Party precluded the emergence of Christian Democracy in Britain. Given the importance of transnational Christian Democracy in the early history of European integration, it was hardly surprising, therefore, that Britain lay outside “core” Europe, consisting of the European Community's original member states.

Not all of the most influential architects of postwar political and economic integration were Christian Democrats. Jean Monnet is a notable exception, being neither religious nor particularly sensitive to the importance of building supranational governance on solid democratic foundations. He was, however, a champion networker, who operated effortlessly at the transnational level. Arguably, the new European communities bore Monnet's stamp as much as that of the Christian Democrats with whom he closely operated. Undermined by weak legitimacy and an alleged democratic deficit, arguably the European Union today is struggling with Monnet's legacy.

Kaiser's erudite and incisive analysis adds considerably to our understanding of the formative years of European integration. It tells an important part of a complicated and fascinating story. Of course, governments still played a key role, especially because the new communities were founded on treaties thrashed out in the course of intensive intergovernmental negotiations. Governments formulated and defended national preferences and positions. Hence it is valid to say, for instance, that “France acted” or “Germany thought” in a certain way—a mode of expression that Kaiser, in his espousal of transnationalism, finds offensive. The undoubted importance of transnational Christian Democratic networks in the construction and functioning of supranational organizations, which Kaiser elucidates with such skill and verve, complements rather than counteracts the intergovernmental approach to studying European integration.

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MARY C. FULLER. *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of European Expansion*. (Early Modern Cultural Studies.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xii, 244. £40.00.

Why do some stories get remembered, while others are forgotten? Mary C. Fuller engages this interesting and important historical and literary question. Fuller is a historically minded literary scholar, and it is a pleasure to join her on what turns out to be both an intellectual and a literal journey.

Fuller is interested in fame, or *public memory*. Thus she focuses on published sources—the printed texts (by such compilers and authors as Richard Hakluyt, Samuel Purchas, or John Smith) that historians of early

modern English expansion know well, and some later, less familiar works. This strategy enables her to trace memory and reputation over time, both at the moment of a story's creation and in the decades (and centuries) that followed. Fuller's intensive focus on how one thinks about evidence—how certain stories end up surviving, while others languish or disappear, how stories get remembered in ways unintended by their creators, what gets collected, by whom, and how, what stories books (as physical objects) can tell us—offers a salutary exercise for historians.

Fuller's three chapters illustrate three different ways of thinking about texts and memory. Chapter one illuminates how one might read stories by setting texts in context and by ruminating on how individual stories become a national memory. Chapter two centers on Captain John Smith's remembered (and misremembered) life, and highlights the materiality of texts. Chapter three explores the facts of Newfoundland's beginning—and its failure as an origin myth—and sets Newfoundland's historical elision against the enduring memories of Roanoke. As Fuller puts it succinctly, she explores in her three chapters "the memory of history; memory and forgetting; history forgotten" (p. 165).

Fuller's methodology centers around setting texts in context, and this approach is one of her great contributions, because she has made some shrewd choices in her pairings. In chapter one, for example, she juxtaposes two stories from Richard Hakluyt's massive *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598–1600). Fuller selects accounts concerning Martin Frobisher's three voyages in search of a Northwest Passage (1576–1578) and Sir Walter Raleigh's account of an English-Spanish naval battle off the Azores in 1591. Interesting points of comparison emerge in her discussion. She considers, for example, Inuit refusal to be taken captive by English intruders—the Inuit preferred to die rather than surrender—with Richard Grenville's own refusal to retreat from certain Spanish defeat; Grenville's preference (strenuously opposed by his crew) was to blow up his ship and sink in a fiery ball. In their first telling, these stories, ostensibly reporting identical conduct on the part of defeated people, offered contrasting accounts of Inuit savagery and English nobility, and worked their way into English national myths accordingly.

Two of Fuller's paths take her to the present day. In her chapter on Smith, Fuller traces extant copies of his *The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith* (1630). The story of each book illustrates an important episode in remembering, reading, and categorizing. One Huntington Library copy is heavily annotated by a reader who was deeply engaged—although not always well informed—in North American colonial ventures. A Bodleian copy, acquired by the library in a 1641 bequest (and not, significantly, collected earlier by a librarian who was personally connected with Smith), was bound together (in the custom of the time) with other materials about Jamestown. Despite Smith's own effort to emphasize his eastern ad-

ventures in his *True Travels*, contemporaries privileged the North American aspects of his life, turning Smith into an American figure, a colonial founding father, just as modern Americans have done. This slippage illuminates the process of making and remaking memories (and reputations), a process that could be launched at the moment of a story's creation.

A second path takes Fuller to modern Roanoke and Newfoundland as she explores historical and cultural tourism in each place, one celebrated in the United States as a foundational moment, the other at the margins of memory and without a clear context. Particularly fascinating is Fuller's ability to home in on the moment of forgetting, which, in the case of Newfoundland, transpired even during the settlement's and fisheries' repeated re-establishment. Each new colonial effort, Fuller explains, was a fresh beginning—this despite the fact that Newfoundland has a very long history. Historians who have studied the first extant travelers' accounts of the region find even in those "first" encounters that visitors reported that the natives they met already possessed European goods. Newfoundland's failure to emerge as a foundation story stands in marked contrast to Roanoke, which even in the wake of its abandonment found status as a foundational moment, since contemporaries drew on the example of Roanoke to justify subsequent English activity in the region.

Readers will finish this book wishing that they, too, were touring Newfoundland and Roanoke. When you go, be sure to take Fuller's book with you.

ALISON GAMES

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ALISON GAMES. *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 381. \$35.00.

This is a splendid book. In lucid, modest, and incisive prose, Alison Games proposes a study of the careers of Englishmen abroad—soldiers, colonists, merchants, diplomats, clerics, and other travelers—as a way of understanding how, by 1660, the "weak state" of England "grew to become a powerful kingdom of global reach" (p. 7). Many of these careers she studies spanned multiple regions, a fact familiar to attentive readers of Richard Hakluyt or Samuel Purchas but not always sufficiently appreciated; individual or collective experiences in one region could and did inform plans and actions in others spatially and culturally remote from the first. Drawing on a deep array of print and manuscript sources, Games follows the migratory paths not only of men but also of ideas about colonization and foreign relations from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, from the Ottoman Empire to Virginia, from North America and the Caribbean to Ireland, to name only a few routes of transmission.

The book's title suggests a particular interest in the "series of learned behaviors" Games characterizes as cosmopolitanism, a "willingness to learn and adapt"



within local contexts and the resultant ability to collect and disseminate local knowledge along the routes of an "interlaced and expanding global network" (pp. 10–11). While there were "many cosmopolitanisms," and these might coexist with tendencies to xenophobia or violence as opportunity served, in many of the regions where sixteenth-century Englishmen learned to travel and trade some degree of adaptation and accommodation was necessitated by realities on the ground. Games argues that while cosmopolitanism might have resulted from early modern England's inability to project its power overseas, practically speaking it "facilitated survival and success overseas" for the private and public undertakings of that state (p. 10). As the state grew stronger over the course of the seventeenth century, England's relations with its colonies and trading partners became more coercive, but its strategies of imposition led to some short-term failures during the Commonwealth and Restoration.

This summary oversimplifies a book that itself refuses to oversimplify its wealth of heterogeneous evidence. While articulating an argument that intervenes in major discussions on the prehistory of empire, the book is structured not so much by stages of that argument as by a survey of evidence, defined and organized around the categories of region and profession. The argument emerges as the historical focus of successive chapters shifts forwards, and never seems to narrow or foreclose the book's very broad purview.

Games's book begins with two chapters focused on continental travel and Mediterranean trade in the sixteenth century as the defining context for the overseas enterprises that followed. Three subsequent chapters focus on particular regional enterprises in Virginia, Madagascar, and Ireland. (Games's focus on a later period of English relations with Ireland departs from "the conventional story of English territorial expansion," identifying Ireland less as an originary model for enterprises elsewhere than as a case where a stronger England drew on the *existence* of overseas colonies to mobilize new powers of coercion). These chapters devoted to regional enterprises alternate with others devoted to three professional categories of Englishmen abroad: merchants, government appointees, and clergymen, following up on the Elizabethan editor Hakluyt's observation that "a souldier observeth one thing, and a mariner another" ("Epistle Dedicatorie," *Principal Navigations* [1600]). Games's observations on the migratory careers and diverse experiences of English clerics are especially useful and fresh.

While this summary description gives a sense of a book's method, again, it falls short of indicating the full breadth of materials on which the book draws. The chapter on merchants pays particular attention to England's short-lived trading mission to Japan (1613–1616); the chapter on Ireland looks at Oliver Cromwell's efforts to create a reverse migration of clergymen from New England; experiences in the Caribbean conditioned expectations in Madagascar. It is a tribute to Games's skill and conceptual acumen as a

writer that one never feels lost in the details: the book is characterized by lucid organization and exposition, from the structure of chapters down to the level of individual paragraphs, which balance the details of particular lives against the larger realities towards which they point.

This book made me want to know more about the collective and individual enterprises on which it draws; one regret was the absence of a bibliography, which leaves the reader trolling through endnotes for titles. As an appreciative reader of Games's *Migration and the Origins of the Atlantic World* (1999), I was delighted to see the strengths of that earlier book translated to a broader demographic and geographic canvas, and expect to be drawing on *this* book for years to come.

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JOHN KERRIGAN. *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603–1707*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 599. \$49.95.

It is often noted that one should not judge a book by its cover, but the cover of this book deserves attention. It is a map of "the three kingdoms," which John Kerrigan reminds us was "the standard seventeenth-century formula for England/Wales, Scotland, and Ireland" (p. 8). The map is reproduced at an angle of ninety degrees, which, before the casual observer has properly focused his or her eyes, has the effect of rendering familiar shapes unfamiliar. This is a clever trick and a visual representation of what this book sets out to do. At the heart of Kerrigan's thesis is his irritation at the Anglocentric construction of "Eng. Lit." whereby the study of empire and its effects has tended neatly to dichotomize colonizer and colonized, with local difference within the British-Irish archipelago neglected. As Kerrigan points out, there have been what he terms "devolutionary flickers" (p. 8), but these works stop around the middle of the seventeenth century and deal only with English authors.

Kerrigan introduces the complex context within which his study is grounded in a lengthy first chapter that forms his introduction, with a focus on such issues as the languages spoken in the archipelago and the impact of print culture in the period 1603–1707. Chapter two, "Archipelagic *Macbeth*," apparently opens with an error, the misspelling of "Macbeth" as "Mackbeth," but it becomes clear that the latter is a protagonist from J. W.'s *The Valiant Scot*, a play published in 1637 in support of the Scottish hero, William Wallace. Both this play and William Shakespeare's more famous work dramatize "tensions within Scotland and between Scotland and England" (p. 92) and Kerrigan, his tongue firmly in his cheek, suggests that the term "the Scottish play" for *Macbeth* might usefully be replaced by "The Archipelagic Tragedy" (p. 114). Shakespeare is also an important presence in chapter three along with John Fletcher's *Bonduca* (1647) and Robert Armin's *The Valiant Welshman* (1615), all literary works where rape or vi-



olation of some sort denotes the penetration of one culture by another.

Chapter four opens with William Drummond's long poem *Forth Feasting* (1617), written to honor the first visit by King James to Scotland after he left for England in 1603 and subtly highlighting the negative consequences of union. In chapter five the focus is a number of plays that speak to the causes and dynamics of the 1641 rising in Ireland, amongst them *Titus: Or, The Palme of Christian Courage*, a play originally written in Latin and published in English in 1644. Here we encounter a problem with Kerrigan's desire to bring neglected works into the light: only a three-page summary of this play survives and thus it is likely to remain of interest only to specialists. In chapters six through nine Kerrigan approaches a number of authors from alternative angles: Henry Vaughan and Katherine Philips via their religious verse and John Milton and Andrew Marvell through the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch triangle within which they figured. In chapter eight Kerrigan examines the literary output of Roger Boyle, the first earl of Orrery, and one of the New English Protestants living in Munster whose work—for example, his prose romance *Parthenissa* (1651)—provides important insights to relations between the Northwest Atlantic archipelago, the United Provinces, Spain, and France.

In chapter ten Kerrigan explores literary representations of the siege of Derry in 1689, among them a two-part drama, *Ireland Preserv'd* (1705), written by John Mitchelbourne, the commander of the garrison in Derry. We move back to the canon with Daniel Defoe in chapter eleven, where Kerrigan argues that critics have neglected the impact of Defoe's travels in Europe and in the English regions, Wales, and especially Scotland. Defoe went to Scotland as a spy for the English, and his novels reveal an interest in the vigilant who have something to hide.

Kerrigan explains that the title for his epilogue, "1707 and All That," echoes the popular children's book by W. C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman, *1066 and All That* (1930) because it reminds us that history is "variously construed and constructed" (p. 352). This brings us back to Kerrigan's main point: our study of the literature of Britain is usually restricted to "Eng. Lit." This is a well-researched and impressive study with original readings of literary texts supported by detailed analysis of their historical context; yet the density of context can be overwhelming. This is not a book that the reader can easily dip into, and at times Kerrigan is so close to the minutiae of his subject, so keen to tell us about the political context or ramifications of a specific text, that the reader can get distracted. Yet this is a necessary book and with its publication ignorance or apathy is no longer an excuse for the neglect or exclusion of literatures of the British-Irish archipelago.

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KENNETH FINCHAM and NICHOLAS TYACKE. *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship*,

1547–c.1700. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 396. \$180.00.

The title of Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke's work gives a nod to Eamon Duffy's magisterial and highly popular book, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (1992). However, it would perhaps have been better if the authors had kept their original title: "The Caroline Remodeling of English Religious Worship." Not only would this have been a better description of the work (although it covers altar policy from the Edwardian Reformation to the Restoration, it is really focused on the 1620s and 1630s), it would have also avoided the unwise comparison with Duffy's book, already elevated to classic status. This work, despite its breadth and wealth of detail, is likely to be of interest only to a small number of specialists in the field of early Stuart church history.

Altar policy was unquestionably a vital battleground of the English Reformation. Requirements to bend one's knees when taking communion and the movement and railing off of the altar may not seem to modern, secular eyes significant, but the English (and Scots) fought a civil war over such apparent minutiae. The problem with the book is not, then, the theme itself, significant as it is, but the authors' treatment of it.

Fincham and Tyacke claim that their approach is innovative in a number of ways. First, they aim to contribute to the debate on the English Reformation by moving away from a crude "top down" or "bottom up" dichotomy to seeing religious change as the result of a complex interplay among the crown, the clergy, and the laity. To this end, Fincham and Tyacke attempt to combine macro-historical discussion of church policy and religious controversy with micro-studies of individual parishes. Second, they investigate the relatively under-examined nature of worship in the post-Restoration period to demonstrate not only the survival but even the enthusiastic revival of the Laudian railed altar. Finally, the authors exploit new sources, namely surviving church artifacts, to broaden the limited evidence offered by document-centered accounts.

These aims are perfectly laudable. However, on closer inspection, the resultant volume appears to be a rather traditional and not terribly well-organized work of church history. In the first place, the discussions of church policy/religious controversy and the micro-studies of parishes are not integrated effectively. The reader is frequently overwhelmed with detail with seemingly little attempt made by the authors to distinguish the wood from the trees. Undoubtedly, a great deal of archival research has gone into this book, but there is frustratingly little attempt to summarize or quantify the findings. Second, while it is almost certainly true that too many works of Reformation history stop dead in 1600 (or at best 1640), Fincham and Tyacke's treatment of altar policy and public worship after the fall of the Laudian episcopate is thin in comparison to the four hefty chapters devoted to the development and implementation of the anti-Calvinist agenda. Finally, al-

though this is a handsomely illustrated work (with a price tag to match), the surviving church artifacts are never analyzed in any significant or thorough-going way. This was a missed opportunity considering the important work that is already being done by Helen Pierce on the visual culture of anti-Laudianism.

What of the book's conclusions? It is again hard to ascertain what these are, and Fincham and Tyacke's disclaimer that any "ambitious study should open up more questions than it closes down" smacks somewhat of getting your excuses in early. The authors suggest that Laudian innovations in public worship may not have been as unpopular as is usually imagined, and support this in part by pointing to the revival in the use of railed altars in the post-Restoration church. However, the actual evidence they provide for support for Laudian forms of worship is rather flimsy, limited as it is to a relatively small number of gentry patrons. Indeed, for a work ostensibly interested in charting the reactions of parishioners to changes in forms of worship, there is noticeably little discussion of popular responses (perhaps because these would undermine the argument for Laudianism's "popularity").

Ultimately, some of Fincham and Tyacke's own findings weaken their case for Laudian revival. The authors note that there was a noticeable growth in spending on the furniture and fabric of churches in the Jacobean period but convincingly argue that this was only partly related to the emergence of "avant-garde conformism." Rather than heralding the rise of anti-Calvinism, expenditure on church buildings in the Jacobean period reflected largely pragmatic needs or decorative whims. Yet, if this was the case in the 1620s, why not in the 1670s, 1680s, or 1690s too? As the authors admit, altar rails may have been reintroduced in the Restoration period, but they re-emerged within churches whose unadorned walls spoke more of Geneva than of Rome.

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BARBARA DONAGAN. *War in England, 1642–1649*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 443. \$110.00.

Near the end of her in-depth study of England at war, 1642–1649, Barbara Donagan concludes that distinctive but largely overlooked in previous work on the English civil wars is the "demonstration of the strength of English legalism, and of the English as a people of the law" (p. 393). Her thorough, lucid, and balanced account traces the warp and woof of war in a nation conscious of the atrocities and brutalities of the Thirty Years' War on the continent and striving to keep its own conduct within codes of law. When the focus is moved away from the New Model Army and radical religion, from individual personalities, local loyalties, and military history, one finds above all a war that is distinctively *civil* in multiple senses: a conflict between citizens dwelling together in a community; not barbarous; striving to be humane; legal or pertaining to the law. As Donagan ex-

plains, the intimacy of civil war makes it even more imperative that codes be followed, and that conduct be restrained within bounds that make it possible to preserve the fundamentals of English society.

Synthesizing aspects of social, political, religious, and military history, Donagan looks at a broad picture, asking what kind of war was fought in England between 1642 and 1649: how brutal, how humane, how and why restrained. Donagan sets out practices and personnel, materials and geography, and above all the codes with which war was waged, concluding with an extended narrative account of two sieges that showed both the survival and the strain of the rules of war, and particularly of the codes of honor governing the behavior of besieger and besieged.

The intimacy of civil war made following the rules both more necessary and, in some respects, more difficult, and Donagan's exposition of officers and men, armies and materials, discloses the gap between plan and action, ideal and reality. The theater of war within the community of England was both intimate and unpredictable: weapons were non-standardized, unreliable, and designed to keep fighting at close quarters; highly-mobile armies mixed with civilian populations; prewar ties of family and friendship or prewar antipathies shaped communications. Confusions were inherent in a conflict between fellow countrymen: colors could be mistaken; watchwords were subject to appropriation and betrayal; soldiers could straggle, desert, or switch sides.

Hence, Donagan delineates in detail the moral and judicial codes that participants strove to follow: the unwritten laws of God, nature, and nation; customary and international laws of war; and precisely delineated articles or ordinances of war. Such shared, understood codes were nonetheless dependent on personnel and individual character, and on chance and situation. The two sieges that Donagan narrates late in the book show the interaction of rules and conditions, of habits of peace and imperatives of war, and of functioning codes and strains nearly to the breaking point.

The first siege explored is that of Boarstall House in Oxfordshire, 1645–1646. Here relations between the royalist defender Sir William Campion and his parliamentary opponents were characterized by courtesy and even concern. Campion was able to send out for a resupply of port, and the parliamentary officers expressed concern about Campion's pregnant wife. Courtesy dominated almost to the end, when Campion's punctilious sense of personal and professional honor exasperated his enemies and friends alike. Nonetheless, a surrender treaty was negotiated with relatively generous terms.

The more protracted and destructive siege of Colchester in the second civil war showed more strain on the codes. Donagan attributes this not so much to personalities as to broader factors: the new environment of the second civil war in which the parliamentarians held the royalists responsible for plunging the nation into renewed bloodshed, as well as stress from

such conditions as severe weather and disease. The siege of Colchester was marked by destruction, suffering, and death on both sides. Strains on codes and severity in their application resulted in surrender on terms, and in Lord General Sir Thomas Fairfax's notorious order to execute the royalist general Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Sir George Lisle.

Donagan's study is above all interested in the codes governing war in England itself. She consciously chooses to set the wars in Scotland and Ireland to one side. There is little emphasis here on differences between royalist and roundhead or on the force of religion or of individual personalities. Fairfax's actions are explained more by codes and context than by personality, and Oliver Cromwell gets little attention. Law emerges as the most potent shaping force. This is a new perspective: a scrupulous, thoughtful, and thoroughly researched addition to studies of the English civil wars. Valuable in itself, the study also provides a new viewpoint from which earlier assumptions about forces and motives, personalities, and military matters in the English civil wars can be fruitfully rethought.

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ALLAN I. MACINNES. *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 382. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$35.99.

For contemporary politicians the marking of the three-hundredth anniversary of the 1707 Act of Union, by which the separate parliaments of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland were brought together to form the new state (and parliament) of Great Britain, was a tricky business. The union of the parliaments could not be ignored, but in an era of rising Scottish nationalism neither could it be celebrated. However, the event has inspired a number of historians to revisit the causes of that union, encouraged by publishers seeking to exploit yet another useful landmark date. But does anyone have anything new to say about the Union of 1707?

In broad terms the historical literature on the Union of 1707 has since the early eighteenth century fallen into two camps. The Whig-Unionist view argues that Great Britain was a product of historical forces that made the great nation states of Europe. In this case the primary drivers were a common English language, a common Protestant religion, a common set of geopolitical priorities, and increasingly shared economic interests. The outcome for Scotland was political stability and economic success, an analysis that remains at the heart of the contemporary unionist political parties.

By contrast, a Tory-Jacobite interpretation offers a more positive view of pre-Union Scotland, dismisses the politics of the making of Union as a combination of political corruption and English bullying, and plays down the benefits of Union. The heirs of that tradition are the Scottish Nationalists, whose primary political objective is to break the Union.

The previous bout of historical outpourings on Union in the 1960s and 1970s entrenched these positions, with T. Christopher Smout bringing an economic historian's expertise into the service of the case of Union. In contrast, William Ferguson and Patrick Riley used Namierite methodology to demonstrate in detail the rotten nature of the politicians who steered Scotland into the Great British harbor. In the intervening quarter century ever more sophisticated research has fine-tuned our understanding of this period, and it is no longer possible to discuss in stark terms the alleged failings of the Scottish economy, the emptiness of Scottish political ideas, or the primitive corruption of the Scottish parliament.

Consequently the best of the literature that has accompanied the three-hundredth anniversary has been of a high order, opening up entirely new areas of investigation. Thus we have Karin Bowie on public opinion and Jeffrey Stephen on religion. In addition, we have well-established topics exposed to greater archival research as in Douglas Watt on the Darien Scheme and the impressive political history of the Union by Christopher A. Whatley and Derek J. Patrick. On the whole the argument has been shifted in favor of the Unionists.

Alan I. Macinnes enters this argument as a long-standing critic of Whig historiography and of what he has described as an anglocentric form of British history. Macinnes dismisses any attempt to present the Union of 1707 as a statesmanlike solution to the British problem, seeing it instead as the result of bungling Scottish politicians who were too keen to please Queen Anne. But this book, while not without its polemical moments, is not simply a contribution to the "bought and sold for English gold" tradition.

Macinnes avoids the worst pitfalls of an approach that takes a long-term view and thus risks spreading itself too thinly. This is achieved through a brisk account of the historiography and the various models of union that were proposed over the course of the century. Unfortunately he does get sidetracked into Ireland, which offers a useful counter to overconcentration on England but whose importance to Anglo-Scottish Union is exaggerated.

By far the most interesting section of the book is its discussion of the Union within the broader context of early modern political economy. The absence of sufficient engagement with current theory on political economy is surprising, but the exploration of the role Scotland and Scots played in developing transatlantic networks and in nourishing connections with the Dutch and other European partners is fascinating. Here the Scots appear as "independent but collaborative players in the Britannic Empire" (p. 143) and not only as the bunglers of the Darien Scheme. The picture of a commercial enterprise that was expanding up until the eve of Union, and of private prosperity flourishing alongside the increasing poverty of government, is reasonably persuasive.

The book's final section addresses more conventional political history. There are some good insights, but while the story is well enough told, Macinnes is less im-

pressive on close political analysis than is Whatley and Patrick's recent volume. The conclusion that the terms of the negotiated treaty were to Scotland's disadvantage, having been mishandled by the country's politicians, places Macinnes firmly in the Tory-Jacobite camp. Those who think Union was a bargain for both sides will not be convinced.

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TOBY BARNARD. *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers, 1641–1786*. Portland, Ore.: Four Courts Press. 2008. Pp. 192. \$75.00.

Toby Barnard enjoys a high reputation, largely based on his mastery of a formidable array of archives. After three decades of sustained research, the last few years have witnessed an outpouring of publications; this is his sixth volume to appear since 2003. The six volumes share certain features: an emphasis on the period between Oliver Cromwell and the American Revolution, archival density of an admirable quality, a focus on Irish Protestants, a particular concentration on the landed gentry, a bias toward Munster, and a preference for accumulated detail rather than generalization. Barnard is not drawn to in-depth research on Irish Catholics or Ulster Dissenters: his eighteenth-century Ireland is viewed through a narrowly Anglican lens. Given that Anglicans composed less than ten percent of the population, albeit dominant at its landed apex, Barnard mines a narrow if deep seam.

The spine of this book is a series of mostly previously published essays which primarily study individuals (William Petty, the Cromwellian pamphleteer Richard Lawrence, the Cork landlord the first earl of Egmont, the Galway improver Robert French) with more glancing vignettes of the partisan historian Walter Harris, the eccentric enthusiast Sir James Caldwell, the philanthropic Arabella Denny, and the Westmeath landlord William Smythe. Barnard explores two ideas of "improvement": the ideological and the material. While he implies their existence, he never deals with its opponents: Catholicism and traditional Gaelic culture. The native Irish were brilliant improvisers of "the weapons of the weak" in the eighteenth century, expertly displayed in the Munster Whiteboy movement. Commentators more alert to the lives of the ordinary people might give more credit to the fundamental common sense of the traditional Irish solutions as opposed to the often impractical improvers: cattle rearing rather than tillage to take advantage of a mild but wet climate, careful calibration of stocking densities, sophisticated use of communal grazing on the mountains, the use of joint tenancies as a way of bridging over bad years. Neither does Barnard address the glaring fact that economically speaking the real success story of eighteenth-century improvement was the Ulster linen industry, driven by the Dissenters and by mercantile rather than landed energies.

The Petty chapter is the most engaging in the volume,

benefiting from access to the Petty archive deposited in the British Library in 1993. Under the veneer of "improvement," a reader is struck by how confiscation, opportunistic marriages, unscrupulous legal chicanery, and ruthless insider trading really explain the success of self-made men like Petty and his predecessor Robert Boyle. They profited more from rebellion and confiscation than from all the "P" words that Barnard likes to deploy—property, Protestantism, power, progress, peace, plenty, placidity, prosperity. Ultimately Petty failed in improving Kerry because he was essentially an absentee, insufficiently committed to either Kerry or Ireland, and remained in thrall to his crudely anglocentric prejudices—the classic colonial predicament. Irish estates, as he wryly acknowledged "require more attendance than a retail shop." Like Edmund Spenser before him, Petty died a disappointed man. He had sought to alchemize the recalcitrant Irish raw materials into a golden facsimile of England, but by the end of his life, he was reduced to the despairing counsel of swapping the Irish and English populations, much like Spenser's genocidal projections a century earlier.

A second sparkling essay with a real sting in its tail concerns the Galway improver French. His Catholic father Patrick French conformed to Protestantism in 1709 and facilitated his professional and social advancement to an estate of 6,000 acres. Robert enjoyed a glowing reputation as a much-lauded paragon of public virtue, yet, like Petty before him, French died a disillusioned man. Barnard reveals abruptly at the end of this essay that he fathered a parallel illegitimate family of seven children. One wonders what explains this. Barnard ignores the psycho-dynamics, but what did it mean for Robert to describe Catholics as "the conquered and we the conquerors"? What was the cost of turning one's back on religion and family in a deeply rooted culture like that of the Galway Catholics? Here America might provide a more appropriate cultural basis of comparison than England.

The concluding chapter is disappointing: it offers not an overview but another series of vignettes that peter out in a curiously indecisive and tentative way. Barnard ignores the last quarter of the eighteenth century when the seismic impact of the American and the French Revolutions opened fault lines in Irish society. Barnard's one general conclusion is to suggest that improvement excited expectations, an old-fashioned hint that the upheavals of the 1790s could be assigned to a revolution of rising expectations.

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DANIEL I. O'NEILL. *The Burke-Wollstonecraft Debate: Savagery, Civilization, and Democracy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 291. \$50.00.

In the introduction to this provocative book, Daniel I. O'Neill positions himself as approaching the interpre-



tation of Edmund Burke and Mary Wollstonecraft with a “beginner’s mind” (p. 1). He promises a fresh perspective on the political philosophy of these two central figures of late eighteenth-century British thought by exploring each author’s use of the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment. O’Neill’s central claim is that previous work on Burke and Wollstonecraft has largely ignored the influence of the four stages of history—from barbarism to civilization—associated with the Scottish paradigm of David Hume, Adam Smith, and John Millar. For Burke, the stage theory of history, and the developmental model of moral sentiments on which it is based, provided the normative foundation of his own argument about the Golden Age of Europe in the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). Wollstonecraft, however, rejected the Scottish model of moral progression and social perfection because it masks the barbarism that still exists between men and women in the household.

To make his case, O’Neill carefully reviews much of the literature specific to the Scottish Enlightenment, but the selective nature of his reading is a concern. The numerous citations to scholarship situating the two among Scottish Enlightenment thinkers undercut his thesis that their influence has been relatively unexamined. Moreover, his overall argument would be stronger if he critically connected it to more recent literature on Burke and Wollstonecraft, highlighting other influences and interpretations, rather than narrowly focusing on these Scottish authors. While there is evidence of Burke’s connection to them as a reader, reviewer, correspondent, and personal friend, Wollstonecraft had only a limited association, footnoting Hume’s *History of England* (1754) in *Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) and citing Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) in *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). She knew of these writers through study and her acquaintance with the Newington Green philosophers James Burgh and Richard Price. However, in the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft critiqued all writers who reduced morals to manners, including Scots James Fordyce and John Gregory, and encouraged females to read history rather than novels to enlarge their minds—without recommending any authors or titles.

Still, readers familiar with Burke and Wollstonecraft and the controversies of their era will find plenty of new connections to ponder here. The author’s attention to Burke’s fragmentary *Abridgement to the History of England* and his late correspondence are valuable, as is his discussion of Wollstonecraft’s *An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution; and the Effect It has Produced in Europe* (1794) as an extension of her *Vindications*. Considering these lesser-known texts provoked additional questions about ideas and influences. What are we to make of the fact that Burke’s own historical study ends with the reign of King John? O’Neill looks to this unfinished text to explain the importance of religion in establishing feudal order and transmitting the literary legacy of the nation, yet it

ends centuries before the formative events of the Reformation, the English Civil Wars, and the Glorious Revolution. In his lifetime the parliamentarian’s brief account was overshadowed by the eight-volume *History of England from the Accession of James the First to that of the Brunswick Line* (1763–1783) by the famed Whig historian Catharine Macaulay. Burke called her the “Republican Virago” for her democratic politics, while Wollstonecraft praised her as the greatest female intellect England had ever produced. There is also a need for a more thorough analysis of the response of each philosopher to that “insane Socrates of the National Assembly” Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whom, despite their remarkable differences, both Burke and Wollstonecraft considered the father of the French Revolution (p. 206). O’Neill’s passing mention leaves one of history’s greatest protagonists in obscurity. Yet Burke was animated by a visceral hatred of the citizen of Geneva and his egalitarian social contract; he is most certainly the primary target of Burke’s raging about the *philosophes*. Moreover, it is almost impossible to explain the intellectual development of Wollstonecraft’s political philosophy without reference to Rousseau, whom she described as the “Prometheus of Sentiment.”

O’Neill’s treatment of the French Revolution as the harbinger of the return to an inhuman savagery for Burke and the promise of human fulfillment for Wollstonecraft offers a vital examination of the dilemma of democracy. Burke recognized that the democratic discourse of rights claims had the rebellious potential to do more than topple kings and reduce queens to women scarcely to be distinguished from brute creation. He saw the democratic threat to religion and the aristocracy, the twin pillars of European civilizations, as destroying the most intimate familial bonds, as patriarchy was attacked from within by faithless wives, seductive servants, and cannibalistic children. Wollstonecraft advocated a democracy in which women would be given a civil existence regardless of marital status and both sexes be held to a single standard of virtue in society and the household. For her, revolutionary democracy could inspire moral reform necessary to transform the hearts and minds of citizens, parents, and future generations. O’Neill’s book is a fascinating addition to a growing literature on the origins of modern conservatism and the emergence of modern feminism.

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MARIA LUDDY. *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 352. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.99.

We are all to some extent familiar with the history of Ireland’s narrow moral code and the grim consequences of its sexually repressive regimes for women during the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries. All too often, however, it is a generalized knowledge, which does not take into account the experiences



of different groups of women, subtle shifts over time, and the varying impacts of wider social, economic, and political developments. Maria Luddy's attractive and comprehensive study of prostitution in Irish society, written with scholarly rigor and attention to context and detail, is therefore a particularly welcome addition to the historiography. While fully acknowledging the difficulties faced by historians in uncovering the experiences of women whose lives have been constructed by "those who feared, despised, pitied and tolerated [them]" (p. 8), Luddy has nonetheless added considerably to our knowledge of this important area of Irish social history.

Consisting of six chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion, the text is illustrated by a range of primary materials including, for example, advertisements for treatments for venereal disease and photos of Magdalen Laundries and of the army camps frequented by prostitutes. Statistical data is in plentiful supply both in the main body of the book and in appendixes, which also include seven case studies of refuge inmates and the words of several popular ballads and songs on this topic. The book is tightly structured; following an overview of prostitution throughout this time period, key themes such as venereal disease, rescue work, suffragism, and nationalism move through the nineteenth to the twentieth century, with the final chapter focusing on the early years of the Irish Free State when church and state colluded in a construction of female sexuality that would shape attitudes toward women for decades to come.

The introduction describes hostile responses to Luddy's public lectures on this subject, and the examples she provides reflect the strongly held notions of Irish sexual purity and moral superiority that have long dominated nationalist discourse. She also draws attention to the intense interest generated by the late twentieth-century revelations of the abuses to which unmarried mothers, in particular, were subjected and the emotional reactions to which they gave rise. Luddy argues that both of these discourses need to be treated with caution and subjected to critical contextual analysis, a process facilitated by her concise outline of the social and economic environment inhabited by Irish women and a discussion of the key literature on this topic.

In the first chapter Luddy explains the unreliability of the statistical information that suggests that numbers of prostitutes ranged from a high of 4,427 in 1865 to a low of 582 in 1919 (p. 20), and while she notes that the array of numerical data does give us some indication of time and place, much more interesting are the glimpses of women and young girls engaging in "lewd behaviour," sometimes "fashionably attired, smoking cigarettes and cracking audibly their obscene jests" (p. 27); the individual "courtesan, gaily attired and on horseback" (p. 38), on occasion assaulted or pursued by angry mobs; and the young woman supporting her family "by wages of iniquity" (p. 23). These brief and tantalizing glimpses are further teased out in the second chapter, which attempts to reconstruct the working and living arrange-

ments of individual and communities of prostitutes, drawing attention to both commonalities and diversities of experience. Irish prostitutes might be married or single, with or without children; they operated at different levels of their own social hierarchy. Luddy explores their mobility and their flexibility. Some, for example, engaged in sex work only occasionally to supplement low-pay factory or domestic work, while others availed themselves of institutions like the workhouse when necessity dictated. At the bottom rung of the ladder were the "wrens of the Curragh" whose situation is looked at in greater detail, with evidence provided to indicate that even these camp followers could depend on a degree of solidarity and mutual support to alleviate the difficulties of lives generally regarded as less than human.

In chapter three Luddy challenges recent popular interpretations by tracing the evolution of Magdalen Laundries and other institutions aiming to "rescue" prostitutes from their "lives of sin." Looking at how both lay and religious organizations were used and perceived, she points to the varied conditions in different regimes and demonstrates how refuges and asylums changed from being places of welfare in the nineteenth century to places of "no rights" for the vulnerable in the twentieth century. Venereal disease is tackled in chapter four, with chapters five and six focusing on the ways in which the already contentious issue of sexual morality was given a political dimension. With middle-class suffragettes making use of prostitutes in their arguments for female moral authority and nationalists claiming they were "humiliating evidence of foreign rule" (p. 158), Luddy argues that in this period "sexuality was politicised in Ireland as never before" (p. 157). For the government and clergy of the new Free State, anxious to demonstrate their moral superiority to Britain, the existence of prostitutes and unmarried mothers represented failure and ensured that greater control of female sexuality was a major priority.

What is most impressive about this study is the detailed analysis of a remarkable array of primary sources; contemporary documents are not only consulted but contextualized, cross-referenced, and critically assessed. Luddy makes use of institutional reports, minutes and correspondence, police and justice files, newspaper articles, commissions of inquiry, clergy visitation notes, legislative debates, and the statistics of various voluntary organizations. The book will be invaluable to researchers, teachers, and students at all levels, not only enhancing our understanding of the history of Irish women and of sexuality but also reinforcing the importance of the interaction of the public and the private and the significance of gender in national histories.

Their individual stories may well be lost to us, as the author notes (p. 230), but by exploring what we know of their experiences with sensitivity and from a range of perspectives, Luddy shows how prostitutes, whether complying with, resisting, or challenging the dominant

discourses of church and state, are a complex and fascinating subject of study.

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MICHAEL S. REIDY. *Tides of History: Ocean Science and Her Majesty's Navy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 389. \$40.00.

At the center of this book stands William Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a dominant figure in the British scientific establishment of the 1830s and 1840s. Whewell is well known to history, but he is known chiefly as a historian and philosopher of science rather than as a practitioner. Michael S. Reidy is able to show that this misunderstanding springs from overlooking his research into the tides, a great national and international project to which Whewell devoted much of his life, and which occupied the "scientists" (a word coined by Whewell although first adopted in the United States) of his day at least as much as the better-known magnetic and Arctic "crusades." Tides were both an exceedingly complex problem of theoretical physics and a very urgent problem of practical navigation for the rapidly growing merchant fleets of the age. They could be, and were, studied in different ways. J. W. Lubbock, who had studied mathematics under Whewell at Cambridge, preferred a purely theoretical approach based on what long series of tidal observations he could find. The compilers and publishers of tide tables for particular ports generally worked empirically from local observations (often jealously guarded as commercially valuable). Their tables were in some cases very accurate, but they could not offer any general theory of the behavior of tides beyond their own ports. Whewell for his part chose to collect simultaneous observations taken over as wide an area as possible for a few days or weeks. As a pioneer of graphical methods of displaying large masses of data, he aimed to plot the "cotidal lines" joining places (in the open sea as well as along the coasts) with the same times of high and low water, and the hours in between. All tidal investigators, but Whewell especially, faced a common problem in physical research: the scarcity and high cost of computing power. "Computers," of course, were people, with the skill, time, and taste for very abstruse and lengthy mathematical calculations. Some were employed by government in the Royal Observatory and the Nautical Almanac Office, but otherwise they were hard to find, and hard to pay for. Researchers had to confront problems that were at once organizational, conceptual, and social. Whewell had to construct and coordinate networks of observers who ranged from university professors to private soldiers, and he had to locate and remunerate computers to reduce their observations to usable data. This raised conceptual questions that Whewell answered with his idea of "inductive science," based neither on pure theory nor on unenlightened empiricism, but on a dialogue between observational data and theoretical conceptions. The method had social implica-

tions, for Whewell was clear that the university-trained "scientist" who was capable of constructing the theory stood at the pinnacle of an intellectual (and by implication a social) hierarchy. Himself of humble birth, Whewell worked cordially with observers and computers of diverse backgrounds, but he never regarded them as being intellectually his equals, and he shared the contemporary assumption that a natural professional and social line divided the gentleman "scientist" from those who were paid for their work.

Nor much of this will surprise historians of science, but by concentrating on the neglected subject of "tidology" (another Whewell coinage), Reidy sheds light on the scientific world of the day from a new direction. His work is thorough and scholarly, although occasionally he seems vague about the historical context, seeming to mix up mechanical, military, and civil engineers, the Admiralty and the Navy Board, dockmasters and harbor masters, and even the meaning of the phrase "dry dock," which he uses for what were evidently tidal berths in the river. His ponderous insistence on summing up the argument at frequent intervals results in a good deal of repetition. He makes some concessions to the fashions of the hour, invoking "imperial" science as an instrument of world domination, without considering what the word might have meant had Whewell and his colleagues used it (which does not appear), nor what the real attitudes of British governments of the day were to overseas possessions. But these are minor faults, easily excusable in a first book that makes a notable contribution to our understanding of the development of modern science, and that has been handsomely produced and illustrated.

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JIM ENDERSBY. *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Practices of Victorian Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 429. \$35.00.

The first thing that strikes one upon picking up Jim Endersby's book is the sparse chapter titles: "Traveling," "Collecting," "Corresponding," "Seeing," "Classifying," "Publishing," "Charting," "Associating," and "Governing." These indicate not a lack of imagination on the author's part but a determination to follow the subject of the book, the botanist Joseph Hooker, through the practical activities by which he made his science, established his authority, and secured his reputation. Endersby's book is a prime example of the fashion in the history of science to give primacy to the day-to-day material practices of the scientist.

Often this approach is pedantic and jejeune: Wardian cases, vascula, and the different types of paper that Hooker used (blotting, cartridge, and brown) form the subject matter. But occasionally it throws up revealing vignettes. The claim that the limited size of his herbarium, for example, was as important as any grand philosophical principle in predisposing Hooker to "lump-

ing" species probably contains an element of truth. And Endersby is at his most convincing on the complex craft activity of collecting, demonstrating that specimens were "not unmediated samples of 'nature,'" but "artifacts constructed by botanical artisans" through a process of selecting, sorting, drying, pressing, pickling, drawing, and finally shipping back from the colony to the metropolis.

The relationship between the metropolitan center, represented by Hooker, and his network of colonial collectors is at the heart of the book and explains the title. Characteristically keeping to the mundane, Endersby argues that the activity of picking and pressing flowers was a way of constructing an imperial relationship of interdependence and negotiation, rather than exploiter and exploited, between Hooker and his colonial collectors. The other two major themes of the book that Endersby identifies as central to Hooker's career are "the reception of Darwinism" and "the emergence of a scientific profession." Endersby rails against what he calls the "established narrative of professionalization," emphasizing that Hooker saw himself as "philosophical" rather than "professional," and argues that Hooker's early acceptance of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) was rooted in arguments about classification rather than transmutation *per se*.

Stylistically there is rather too much of "The Young Turk" Ph.D. student about Endersby's writing to make this book a pleasant read. He tends to caricature rather than critique what he calls the "prevailing historiography," and is too busy setting up and knocking down straw men to acknowledge that much of what he has to say, for example about professionalization, has already been said by others. Throughout the reader has to contend with the author's tremendous sense of self and by the conclusion his use of the first person has run entirely out of control. A good editor might have reined that propensity in and also saved Endersby from his predilection for writing "like" when he actually means "such as." One can only wonder at Robert E. Kohler's description of this book, on the dust jacket, as "superbly well-written."

Methodologically there are also shortcomings. To an extent Endersby is a victim of his (unacknowledged) enthusiasm for Bruno Latour and actor-network theory. The stated ambition of following Hooker through his work is an elaborate fiction: very little of the chapter on "Traveling," for example, is actually concerned with travel; and, as Endersby concedes, activities that were "inseparable in Hooker's practice" are inevitably treated separately. Endersby's key interest is in how Hooker established his "authority"—an almost hypostatized entity that provides the rationale for all activity—through the creation of a "network"—a term that has whatever meaning the historian chooses to give it. The reading of Hooker's career that ensues only makes sense if one assumes a Hobbesian asocial world of scientific egos constantly vying for authority over each other: an assumption that sits uneasily with Endersby's emphasis on the Victorian scientist's "gentlemanly ideal."

When Endersby looks up from the minutiae of Hooker's botanical research he frequently reveals a shaky grasp of the wider context of Victorian society and a simplistic reading of problematic source material. There are far too many flabby generalizations about the growth of empire, education, and the middle classes; an overreliance on contemporary novels for evidence of social mores; and a lack of critical rigor in taking Hooker and his correspondents at their own estimate. "Empire" sits at the center of Endersby's analysis, but he is curiously imprecise about this entity and largely limits his discussion to Hooker's relationship with collectors in Australia and New Zealand. The almost total exclusion of India from the discussion, despite Hooker visiting the subcontinent and writing about its plants, leaves the argument unbalanced.

This is a beautifully illustrated book that provides helpful insights into the life of the pre-eminent Victorian botanist but fails to convince in its broader objectives.

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THOMAS DIXON. *The Invention of Altruism: Making Moral Meanings in Victorian Britain*. (British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press, for The British Academy. 2008. Pp. xiv, 420. \$80.00.

In this well-argued and compelling book, Thomas Dixon traces the reception and dissemination of the term "altruism" from the very invention of the word in the 1850s through mid- and late Victorian times. Building on an extensive literature of Victorian philosophy, science, religion, and morality, the book expands and elaborates the historical account by offering a richly textured outline of the transformation of the language of altruism, thus shedding fresh light on Victorian thinking and culture at large.

Following a methodological discussion that addresses the merits of studying linguistic terms ("key-words") in historical contexts, the first chapters focus on the invention of "altruism" by the French philosopher August Comte, and on the import, diffusion, and popularization of Comtean ideas in England from the 1850s onwards. The chapters point to the strong association of "altruism" with scientific positivism, humanistic religion, and secularism, the word gradually gaining currency as a signal of an atheist and humanistic ethics even as it was also accommodated by some clergymen themselves. The following chapters are then devoted to Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, showing the centrality of notions of altruistic behavior and sentiment in their thinking. Contrary to widely perceived notions about the egotism implied by the principle of "survival of the fittest," altruism was integral to Darwinian science as well as to the moral and political writings of Spencer, who was "by far the most influential theorist of altruism in nineteenth-century Britain" (p. 183). Special attention is given in these chapters to the

reception and dissemination of altruistic morality in numerous publications, intellectual exchanges, and the social and political debates of late Victorian times. There are separate chapters on the assimilation of altruism in reformist thinking on poverty and the varieties of socialism, and on its strong association with the science of heredity, feminism (with motherhood assuming the ultimate form of "altruism"), race, and the ideas propounded by the eugenics movements. The final chapter, titled "Egomania," charts the reaction to the culture of altruism and Victorian moralism among some late Victorians—Oscar Wilde and the philosopher G. E. Moore, among others—pointing to the way in which their reactions to the language of altruism perpetuated the word but ultimately led to its being viewed as a relic of Victorian utilitarianism and evolutionary ethics.

The greatest merit of the book and its most rewarding parts are those dealing with the dynamics of reception, transmission and changing connotations of "altruism." Dixon not only finds the word in well-known philosophic and scientific texts but also explores and pays particular attention to the diffusion of altruism in a wider range of texts, from popular science and religion to novels and children's literature, newspapers and periodicals, political tracts and speeches, scientific lectures, notebooks, autobiographies, and private correspondence. He portrays a broad spectrum of prominent and less prominent individuals, offering vignettes of their lives and highlighting the diverse and elaborate modes of communication through which they disseminated and publicized their notions and adherence to altruism. These modes of communication included not only numerous publications and correspondence but also networks of kin, friends, and professional ties alongside more formal institutions, especially the plethora of associations that dominated the public sphere of Victorian society and served as vehicles for publicizing and turning abstract notions to more concrete practices and programs. The result of all this is an intellectual history that is gripping in its reconstruction of socio-intellectual milieus and modes of communication, forcefully pointing to the wide diffusion of the language of altruism practically everywhere (including such unlikely territory as Darwinian science or liberal thought). The traditional concepts of charity, compassion, beneficence, or sympathy were thus transformed and replaced (albeit by no means completely) by more secular and mutating notions of a self that was at once inward, competitive, and ego-centered, but at the same time strongly inclined and even overly committed to others, if not to society and humanity at large.

Given the scope and range of the topics discussed and covered in the book, its conclusion remains somewhat elusive and stops short of making a clearer statement about broader historiographical issues, whether of Victorian Britain or indeed of the transition to modern notions of the self. As a framework for the book Dixon invokes current scientific and philosophical debates on altruism and neo-Darwinism, pointing to the degree to which the "rhetorically loaded" language of selfishness

and altruism of Victorian times has remained the basis of our modern habit of making moral judgments and concluding somewhat vaguely that we might consider suspending use of the term altruism altogether. Arguably the book has no less important implications for a long and well-established historiography, according to which the era from the Renaissance onward was quintessentially associated with the emergence of a distinctly modern sense of self: inward-looking, private, competitive, and ego-centered. By demonstrating the force of the language of altruism in Victorian culture, Dixon's book shows that as late as the nineteenth century, with its accelerated secularism and emerging industrial institutions, there was no triumph of "individualism" narrowly defined in terms of self-interest, but rather the formation of a far more complex sense of self that encompassed not only the pursuit of personal goals or self-sufficiency, but also interrelations and the bonding between self and others. In this sense the book contributes less to an understanding (let alone the resolution) of current debates about altruistic behavior and motive and more to an emerging historical literature that points to the intricate route of transformation to modern notions of the self that go well beyond "ego-centeredness" to embrace dimensions of the self that strongly relate to others.

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JOSEPH MORGAN HODGE. *Triumph of the Expert: Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of British Colonialism*. (Series in Ecology and History.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 402. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$26.95.

There is an increasing array of important case studies that explore the social, political, economic, cultural, and environmental dynamics of colonial development initiatives in such places as French Soudan (Monica van Beusekom), Kenya (David Anderson), and Zambia (Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughan). Although all of these scholars link the shifting discourses and practices of local development interventions to changes in policy and practice in the metropole, few have had the time, space, or expertise to analyze how and why metropolitan agendas shifted as they did beyond a perfunctory mention of, for example, post-World War II economic demands.

Joseph Morgan Hodge fills this gap, offering a much-needed history of British colonial development policy from the late 1890s to its (seeming) demise in the 1960s. Hodge draws on archival work (especially Colonial Office records), extensive secondary literature (such as the case studies mentioned above), and interviews with retired colonial administrators to trace the broad changes in development policy and practice. Interweaving what he terms a "view from above" with a "view from the field," he analyzes the early history of colonial development, the growing prominence of scientific knowledge and technical experts in shaping colonial de-



velopment policy, the resulting tensions between these technocrats and political officers, and the experiences and reactions of the “natives.” His framing historical questions include: how and why did Britain try to implement the massive development projects of the late colonial period (especially in contrast to the far more modest, localized projects of the early colonial period)? Why were these projects such disastrous failures, provoking the deep resentment and resistance of local people? How and why do the legacies of colonial development paradigms, especially “agrarian doctrines,” continue to shape contemporary development interventions?

The book is structured chronologically. After a brief introductory overview of his main arguments, Hodge works systematically to develop his thesis. He carefully documents the institutionalization of the tropical sciences; the emerging reliance of the colonial state on scientific expertise to address problems of production, social issues like health, and resource management; and, as a consequence, the dramatic expansion of scientific and technological experts within the colonial bureaucracy. According to Hodge, although early scientific studies and interventions were directed to improving the life, livelihood, and health of the colonized, over time, especially after World War II, the priorities of the colonial office shifted to maximizing economic productivity for the benefit of the state, ensuring an ample (and somewhat healthy) labor supply and protecting white settler populations from “native” disease and contagion. Moreover, as the presence and power of the scientists and technocrats grew, the local knowledge and grounded insights of district level personnel were devalued, producing new fractures and fissions within the colonial bureaucracy about appropriate policies and practices. Obsessed with the seemingly inherent value of scientific approaches to such newly discovered concerns as “overstocking,” “malnutrition,” and “surplus” population, these technocrats ignored the political and social causes of these “problems.” And so, as Hodge documents, tropes of resource scarcity replaced those of tropical abundance, earlier colonial concerns with ensuring the “progress” and well-being of the colonized were supplanted by demands for productivity and profit, and colonial interventions became increasingly compulsory.

Hodge’s meticulous historical analysis and extraordinary synthesis of the relevant case literature are a remarkable feat. He elucidates the “middle ground” of relationships between the metropole and colonies, analyzing the discrepancies between policy and practice, tensions between science and politics, and competing visions of “progress” and “development.” Moreover, by shifting the chronology of colonial development efforts to predate the modernization agendas of the 1950s, he is able to trace the genealogies of those agendas in the growing alliance between scientific expertise and the exercise of state power. And by tracing the later careers of the colonial experts and administrators—many of whom worked as advisers, consultants, and leaders of

the enormous network of international development organizations that emerged in the postcolonial period—Hodge suggests why the assumptions, discourses and practices of large-scale, state-led development persisted, despite the very history of failure, resistance, and conflict he documents.

In conclusion, Hodge’s work is a smart, well-written, and accessible book that will appeal to scholars and students of colonialism, development studies, and Africa.

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NEIL ROLLINGS. *British Business in the Formative Years of European Integration, 1945–1973*. (Cambridge Studies in the Emergence of Global Enterprise.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 278. \$85.00.

This book is a welcome addition to the ever-expanding literature on European integration. Its main merit rests in making business the key point of analysis. Although European integration is both an economic and political process, the historiography has focused on the latter, and, where it has considered economic issues, it has presented them as means to political ends. Neil Rollings, instead, places firms at the center of his analysis by looking not just at peak associations, such as the Federation of British Industries, but also at a range of sector-specific bodies, such as the British Iron and Steel Federation, local Chambers of Commerce, and individual firms.

Britain’s political ambivalence toward European integration has led to it being defined as “an awkward partner” in Europe, and its late entry in 1973 has been seen as a missed opportunity. This book explores whether such ambivalence was reflected in the business community and what factors can explain British businesses’ attitudes to European integration. Rollings’s approach does not just give us another level of observation in the multi-faceted history of Europe’s formation; more importantly, it provides us with the first comprehensive study of the two-way relationship between business and government and how these were inextricably linked as part of the policy process.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one explores trade and investment patterns and the shift in the economic relationship from the Commonwealth to Western Europe and the European Community (EC). Here Rollings investigates the reality behind the commonly held assumption that British industry had an anti-competitive culture and that it preferred the protected market of the Commonwealth to the open and competitive market of the European Community. The evidence he presents shows that it was the prospect of entry that drove businesses’ shift toward the EC in the early 1960s. Although the macro-data would seem to confirm those who argue that exports did not move to the EC quickly enough to make a real difference in terms of Britain’s competitiveness, Rollings takes his analysis further. Foreign direct investment (FDI) in Western Europe by British firms was considerable, even



before 1961 and could have been higher if exchange controls had not been an obstacle. By taking a micro-perspective and focusing on specific sectors and individual firms, Rollings can show that, apart from the textile industry, businesses were committed to liberalization and that they were adjusting their corporate strategies toward the EC earlier than suggested by the literature.

The second part of the book reassesses the conventional view that British industry was not interested in European integration until at least the mid-1950s. Rollings presents businesses' own perception of European integration through each stage, from the early years of the Marshall Plan to the Customs Union, the Schuman Plan, the European Coal and Steel Community, the debate over the Free Trade Area, the creation of the European Free Trade Association, and Great Britain's first and second application to join the Common Market, up to 1973. Rather than trying to find a unifying theme (as no single view existed), Rollings gives space to multiple voices, from the Federation of British Industries (FBI) to individual firms. What emerges is a picture made of many small pieces, fragmented and complex, where opposition and support were voiced at different times, over different issues, and at different levels. Historians reading this account will delight in the richness of detail and in seeing how actors, including the government, understood and responded to the times in which they lived. Rollings is able to bring multiple voices together to show that, after 1963, there was growing business support for Common Market membership, and that the Confederation of British Industry (the FBI's successor) put pressure on the government to apply again.

The third part of the book focuses on the reaction to the other issues that concerned business, apart from tariffs and trade, such as competition policy, indirect taxation, and company law. Here again Rollings pays attention to details as they mattered in shaping perceptions and responses. This is a tightly argued book, rich in evidence both quantitative and qualitative, drawn from previously unexplored archival material. Rollings demonstrates that business history has much to offer to historians and social scientists interested in the history of European integration; they will find here much that is new both in terms of evidence and in the author's approach.

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GABRIEL B. PAQUETTE, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and Its Empire, 1759–1808*. (Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xi, 244. \$69.95.

In this perceptive analysis of reform in the Spanish Empire during the reigns of Charles III (1759–1788) and Charles IV (1788–1808), Gabriel B. Paquette examines the intellectual development of the reforms and historiographical approaches taken in analyzing them. As

Paquette notes, some historians have emphasized the degree to which foreign influences determined the direction of the reforms, others have portrayed them as part of the general European phenomenon of enlightened absolutism, and still others have focused on the reforms as a contest between secularism and religion.

Paquette attempts to harmonize these interpretations with his own explanation of what the intellectual foundations of the reforms were and why they achieved only limited results. He begins idiosyncratically with Giambattista Tiepolo's "Wealth and Benefits of the Spanish Monarchy under Charles III," painted in 1762 to adorn the throne room of the royal palace in Madrid. The fresco asserted the crown's role in enhancing the empire's general welfare and material prosperity. Anton Raphael Mengs, Charles III's chief painter and aesthetic adviser, had brought Tiepolo to Madrid so the court could emulate the artistic ideals of the other principal European monarchs, for whom Tiepolo had also painted frescoes. Paquette's use of Mengs and Tiepolo allows him to introduce the idea of emulation: the European-wide practice of importing ideas, cultural values, and political and economic policies to build the power and influence of the state, to promote the general welfare, and to stimulate economic growth. Emulation did not mean imitation, but borrowing ideas and then adjusting and improving them to fit national circumstances.

For Paquette, the Caroline ideology of governance was based upon three main pillars. First was regalism, the idea that state power must be supreme. This was particularly evident in its relationship with the Roman Catholic Church, specifically Charles III's expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Second, political economy seemed to offer ways to enrich the monarchy and improve the general welfare. Promotion of population growth and immigration were part of the projects undertaken by the monarchy, along with reforms to stimulate trade and thereby increase royal revenues derived from commerce. The third pillar was that of enhancing Spain's prestige and power internationally. Charles III came to the throne in 1759 during the Seven Years' War, which ended in Spanish defeat and clearly signaled the danger the British posed to the Spanish Empire. Underlying the entire reform program was a faith in the potential of reason to resolve Spain's problems and strengthen the Bourbon monarchy, a faith in keeping with the Age of Reason.

With emulation key to his analysis of the Caroline reforms, Paquette examines the non-Hispanic roots of the reform proposals. He devotes considerable space to British sources and even Italian political economists but little to the French. It is not entirely clear whether this is because he believes the French contributed little for emulation or because he simply focused on the British. With its focus on the Caroline period, the book says little about reforms under Philip V and Ferdinand VI and their intellectual origins, or whether emulation was chiefly a Caroline phenomenon.

From Paquette's perspective, the reforms failed in

Spain because of the powerful resistance of traditional elites, and the monarchy and its ministers consequently turned vigorously to the overseas colonies to pursue their regalist and commercial initiatives. This, of course, ignores the initiatives that predated Charles III, carried out by ministers such as the Marquis de la Ensenada, and the reforming impulse that survived in Spain itself. In the colonial centers opposition also forestalled the reforms, which enjoyed greater success in the peripheral areas of the colonies, where Paquette focuses his attention. The crown's goal in the periphery was to increase commerce and thus revenues rather than simply imposing new or higher taxes. He argues that in the periphery the crown's regalism could combine with the ambitions of the local commercial elites to spur reform. Paquette's focus on the periphery perhaps minimizes too much the impact of the José de Gálvez *visita* in Mexico and how much new revenue the crown was able to extract from that silver-rich colony during the late Bourbon period. Certainly, the reformers' impact in the Andes was tremendous, although their efforts to increase taxation there and stimulate commerce had the unintended result of the massive Tupac Amaru Rebellion (1780–1781).

Special mention should be made of the book's index, which is little more than perfunctory. Most of the individuals mentioned in the text are missing, even those such as the Marquis of Esquilache, Charles III's Neapolitan minister whose reforms provoked the 1766 revolt in Madrid that ended the most intensive reformist period in Spain itself. Those included in the index, such as the Duke of Almodóvar or Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, have only partial listings. The weak index is a serious obstacle to use of the book for research.

Nonetheless Paquette offers intriguing insights into the intellectual underpinnings of the reform movement. He provides a macro view of the ideas behind the reforms and places these imperial changes within the broader intellectual currents of the European and Atlantic worlds. Those interested in the reforms will find Paquette's work provocative and rewarding.

KENDALL W. BROWN  
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SIMON BURROWS. *Blackmail, Scandal, and Revolution: London's French libellistes, 1758–92*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 256. £50.00.

Simon Burrows offers the first study of the French *libellistes* who worked in London during the second half of the eighteenth century. Burrows uses archives in England, France, and Switzerland to recreate this shadowy world of writers, publishers, crooks, spies, diplomats, and police officers whose paths crossed in London between 1758 and 1792. By tracing the publication history of subversive prerevolutionary texts, he reassesses their impact on politics and public opinion at the end of the Old Regime. Burrows's analysis challenges the Darn-tonian portrait of Grub Street hacks and the "pornographic school" (p. 17) associated with Lynn Hunt's *The*

*Family Romance of the French Revolution* (1993) and Chantal Thomas's *The Wicked Queen: The Origins of the Myth of Marie Antoinette* (1999), among others. His conclusions will interest historians of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution as well as scholars in related fields of print culture and censorship, media and public opinion, gender and politics, and national identity.

Burrows begins with a prosopography of the sixteen individuals who form the basis of his study. Three were women and all were members of the privileged orders who brought criminal backgrounds, financial difficulties, and dubious reputations when they came to London to work as writers and spies. Burrows rejects Robert Darnton's image of disgruntled hacks seething with resentment against the elites and determined to bring down the Old Regime (p. 51). Instead, he describes the *libellistes* as operators whose motives for writing included money, fame, and reform but not revolution. They established exile communities, set up printing presses, and maintained powerful connections in the courts of France and England.

In chapters three and four, Burrows reviews the French crown's efforts to police these texts and the reactions of the British authorities. Initially, the monarchy intimidated authors through spies and assassination threats or by purchasing silence with hush money. Authors took advantage of this system and sold texts directly to the crown. This espionage network disintegrated, however, when war broke out between England and France in 1778. After 1783, the monarchy stopped paying suppression fees and adopted a policy of indifference combined with legal threats of prosecution or arrest. According to Burrows, the press coverage of these different tactics and their failures augmented fears of royal despotism.

Chapter five focuses on pamphlets attacking Marie Antoinette to revise interpretations that emphasize the role of criticism in eroding faith in the monarchy. Burrows deftly weaves the details of publication history into literary analysis of the ambivalent narrative strategies deployed in the *libelles*. Expanding on Vivian R. Gruder's article, "The Question of Marie Antoinette: The Queen and Public Opinion before the Revolution" in *French History* 16:3 (2002), Burrows demonstrates that none of the *libelles* cited as evidence of attacks against the queen circulated before 1789 (p. 151). Although many were prepared in the 1780s, they did not become widely available until they were discovered in the Bastille's secret *dépôt* in July 1789. In this tense climate, sexual slander reinforced fears about the queen's nefarious influence and disloyalty. From this chapter, Burrows extends his purview to the figure of the king. Although Burrows sees little evidence that the available pamphlets undermined faith in the king, he does not dismiss them as innocuous. Instead he identifies their radical charge in shaping discourses that targeted corruption, conspiracy, and female misrule.

In his last chapter, Burrows traces the evolution of these themes through the pamphlet literature that was available to readers before 1789. Reports of the crown's

efforts to suppress *libelles* pitted French despotism against British liberty in the press on both sides of the English Channel. The tales of surveillance, kidnapping, and repression generated negative publicity for the French monarchy that carried into the early years of the revolution and fired calls for transparency and freedom. This chapter highlights the fruits of Burrows's cross-cultural analysis as well as the intersection of international and domestic affairs in the formation of public opinion.

Burrows has worked hard to locate evidence that revises current views of the relationship between underground publications and the coming of the French Revolution. I would only question two assumptions that guide this otherwise persuasive project. First, by focusing on publication to measure impact, Burrows overlooks the diffusion of unpublished materials among courtiers and other reading publics. Although publication increased circulation, it does not give us a full picture of what people read in the last decades of the Old Regime. Second, Burrows addresses the role of the *libelles* in desacralizing the king's image. Yet, he ignores studies—by Arlette Farge (*Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-century France* [1995]), Dale K. Van Kley (*The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régime, 1750–1770* [1984]), and myself (*If the King Only Knew: Seditious Speech in the Reign of Louis XV* [2000])—of how print and speech intersected and together shaped that image. These books would have reinforced, and possibly complicated, his argument about expressions of dissent and loyalty within French political culture.

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STEPHEN MILLER. *State and Society in Eighteenth-Century France: A Study of Political Power and Social Revolution in Languedoc*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 322. \$79.95.

Forty-odd years have passed since Alfred Cobban and François Furet inaugurated the revisionist era in French Revolution studies, the era we still inhabit. Albeit with different emphases, Cobban and Furet shared a fundamental idea: that the revolution evolved independently of eighteenth-century patterns of work, property, and social interaction. Many historians have found this intellectual move liberating, and recent decades have witnessed a wave of innovative research on Old Regime political culture and events. Yet the troubling questions remain. Can revolutionary politics really have had so little connection to other domains of social life? Does emphasis on the autonomy of its politics diminish the revolution's place within modern history, reducing it to an episode of pointless violence and disruption?

Stephen Miller wants to respond to these questions by reconnecting the French Revolution to its social context, and one can only applaud his ambition. His effort focuses on an important region, the southern province

of Languedoc, and on a basic fact: the Old Regime's elites were among the first to turn against it, so revolution began at the top of society rather than the bottom. This peculiar fact, he argues, derived from the eighteenth century's political economy. Languedoc had limited productive capacities; it could not offer its inhabitants a rising standard of living, nor could it meet the expectations of its ruling classes. The problem lay mainly in the organization of the province's agriculture. Dominated as it was by minute peasant holdings, Miller believes, agriculture could never provide the platform for real economic development. Total production might rise, but only in proportion to the new inputs entering the system in the forms of previously uncultivated lands and additional labor; the results were peasant self-exploitation and diminishing returns from steadily less fertile soils. Early modern England differed in every respect: there, a combination of large farms, prosperous tenants, and enlightened landowners led to agricultural innovation, rising per capita incomes, and increasing investment elsewhere in the economy. As an added benefit, English landlords could afford to pay a fair share of their nation's tax burden.

In France, on the contrary, political privilege supplied ruling groups with essential economic resources such as venal offices and other government-generated revenues; the state's fiscal mechanisms compensated for the inadequacy of nobles' estates. But this alliance between state and ruling class came at the cost of political paralysis. Any effort at political reform risked angering the state's powerful beneficiaries, and the nation's limited productivity made it impossible to ask more of its over-burdened taxpayers. There was thus "a social level of causation to the revolutionary crisis," in Miller's cautious phrase (p. 258). The revolution had social effects as well. Elites' reliance on government ensured that eventually revolutionary activity would turn against them, despite their initial role in resisting absolutism and bringing on the revolutionary crisis.

Miller thus addresses important questions, and he does so with wide-ranging, imaginative research. He has explored tax rolls and wealth distribution, Old Regime political institutions, and the local unfolding of the revolution itself. The book is especially impressive for its reconstruction of the different levels of political action in the province, both before and after 1789.

The book's vision of the Old Regime's economy is less convincing, however, for it rests on especially crude ideas about French agrarian backwardness. Those ideas have an honorable history, dating back to the Old Regime itself, but every one of them has been persuasively challenged in recent decades. Jean-Marc Moriceau and Philip T. Hoffman have shown that French agriculture became far more productive over the course of the Old Regime, and that differences between English and French agricultures were smaller than was once imagined; Liana Vardi and Jan de Vries (among others) have explored the wealth that household industry brought to the countryside; and a variety of historians have shown that British economic growth remained

limited before 1800. Miller does not seriously engage with these alternative views, and his eagerness to find backwardness leads him into strained arguments. He claims, for instance, that Languedoc's peasants "increased overall output ... only through an enormous increase of labor input" (p. 178)—ignoring the realities that underemployment was one of the Old Regime economy's major problems, and that labor-intensive activities like viticulture might produce high returns.

Miller's reconstructed social interpretation of the French Revolution thus rests on shaky economic foundations. His book's value lies rather in its careful description of political life in an important region, an account that follows events across the revolutionary divide. As such, the book demonstrates the startling tenacity of "the revisionist challenge" to students of the revolution. Reconnecting revolutionary politics and Old Regime social structures remains a baffling task even for those most committed to it.

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JAMES R. LEHNING. *The Melodramatic Thread: Spectacle and Political Culture in Modern France*. (Interdisciplinary Studies in History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. 180. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

This book is both fascinating and frustrating: fascinating in its analysis of the consistent power of melodramatic narratives across two centuries in arenas of French public life as apparently separate as civic festivals, public funerals, political trials, parliamentary debates, popular plays, classic movies, avant-garde theater, and experimental film; frustrating because it never quite fulfills its opening promise to demonstrate the causal connections linking the use of melodrama in any one of these arenas to its subsequent appearance in any of the others. James R. Lehning stresses the power of what he calls the "melodramatic thread" in the process of creating French republican national identity, claiming that "the discourses of French culture that divided the world into a conflict of good and evil, that sought to rescue threatened virtue, and that continually hovered on the edge of exposure helped assemble the elements of French political culture into images of the world and, through them, created the processes of social, economic, and political life for French men and women" (p. 19). While the parallels that Lehning identifies between theatrical and political rhetoric are certainly provocative, his argument that the presence of the melodramatic thread can explain the persistent polarities of French political culture is not completely convincing because the causal relationship between the popularity of melodramatic plays and the republican use of melodramatic rhetoric remains unclear. In addition, Lehning's argument does not account for the popularity of melodrama in other countries whose political cultures do not share the French style.

The introduction and four main chapters compare examples of the melodramatic imagination in action from the French Revolution to the Fifth Republic. The introduction, for example, opens with a vivid reconstruction of Maximilien Robespierre's Festival of the Supreme Being in 1794 and continues with an analysis of one of the earliest successful melodramatic plays, the premier of René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt's *Coelina* in 1800. Chapter two explores the melodramatic representations of the French Revolution in a series of nineteenth-century episodes such as the parliamentary debates over army reorganization in 1818, the redecoration of the Chamber of Deputies and the Hôtel de Ville with new murals on revolutionary subjects in 1830, the public burial of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1840, the first national commemoration of Napoleon's birthday in 1852, the marriage of Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie de Montijo in 1853, and the baptism of the prince imperial in 1856. Chapter three couples brief analyses of republican political highlights such as the French revolutionary centennial celebration in 1889, the public burial of assassinated republican president Nicolas Léonard Sadi Carnot in 1894, and the dedication of a monument to Dreyfusard senator Auguste Scheurer-Koestner in 1908 with more extensive analyses of influential theatrical representations of the French Revolution in the contemporaneous work of popular playwright Victorien Sardou and progressive author Romain Rolland. Chapter four moves into the twentieth century by comparing the classic cinematic representations of the French Revolution in Abel Gance's *Napoléon* (1927) and Jean Renoir's *La Marseillaise* (1938) with the subsequent political representations of the revolution during the sesquicentennial celebrations of 1939. Chapter five, finally, illuminates the political culture of the Fifth Republic by looking at a series of productions from Ariane Mnouchkine's experimental *Théâtre du Soleil* that include *1789* (1970), *1793* (1972), and *La nuit miraculeuse* (1989). The result, Lehning claims, is "a more precise description of French political culture," one that stresses the ways in which French men and women have developed "democratic institutions, practices, and values" not so much through the beneficial "habits of compromise and negotiation" that have interested previous scholars of civil society as through the potentially destructive "framing of political conflict in terms of threatened virtue, evil opponents, and brave heroes who rescue the threatened heroine yet are unable to re-create a posited unity that existed before the threat" (pp. 131–132).

While Lehning is surely right to point out that French history provides a particularly unusual example of democratization by virtue of the country's unique "alternation of two empires, two monarchies, and five republics in the years between 1789 and the late twentieth century" (p. 128), it is not clear that Lehning's identification of the tensions inherent in melodramatic narratives is enough by itself to explain this French singularity. While melodramatic plots may have been particularly popular on the Parisian stage, for example,



Lehning himself admits that melodramas such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) were equally popular in the United States and England (p. 51), countries that have had very different political histories both from France and from each other. Despite its loose ends, however, this book should make interesting and important reading for all those historians, literary critics, and social scientists who are interested in the impact of the French Revolution and the ongoing development of the French republican project.

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RICHARD S. FOGARTY. *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914–1918*. (War/Society/Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 374. \$60.00.

This subtle and extraordinarily informative book explores the interaction of republican ideology and race, in the tradition of scholars such as Alice Conklin and Tyler Stovall. Richard S. Fogarty argues that republicanism in France needs to be taken seriously in understanding the formulation of two broad avenues of colonial policy: assimilation and association. Assimilation spoke to the principles of 1789 and to the eradication of politically significant difference. One fine day, according to an assimilationist teleology, the empire would simply become "Greater France," populated by politically commensurate Frenchmen (women of any color being kept to the political sidelines). Association, in contrast, sought to strike some form of cultural and political compromise between colonizer and colonized, by reconciling colonial rule with respect for indigenous difference. Yet both assimilation and association carried within them logics that seemed to undermine the colonial enterprise itself. Assimilation implied a truly "color-blind" France, which Fogarty and Stovall (among others) have shown, hardly existed as an aspiration, let alone a reality. Association also posed the uncomfortable question of just how to adjudicate and evaluate "difference" between colonizer and colonized. Indeed, if the empire was about respect for difference, why should there be an empire at all? What was an empire based on association *about* besides extraction?

World War I forced the French to confront these logics in a new and dire setting. As French casualties mounted and the outcome of the war remained uncertain well into 1918, the empire was increasingly seen as the sole expandable source of manpower for the French military. Yet just who were colonials, politically speaking? What claim did military service give them on the national community, which had fused citizenship and military service since France first became a republic? If, as Jean-Jacques Rousseau had put it, every citizen was a soldier, was not every soldier a citizen? As Fogarty shows, a hard-bitten imperialist such as General Charles Mangin considered troops from France's overseas empire as little more than another form of colonial extraction, though he maintained a sincere if conde-

scending affection toward his infantilized charges. Others feared the implications of relying on colonials to rescue the beleaguered metropole. If Europe was a "white" civilization, how could France maintain its standing as a great power through the military might of soldiers of color? Everyone agreed that colonial soldiers were "French" in some sense, though this raised as many questions as it answered. For example, soldiers from Algeria were already French nationals, though they certainly did not possess the same rights as their white compatriots. How could serving "their" country in its darkest hour not alter their political status?

Fogarty convincingly shows that when forced to choose between assimilation and association, the French chose the latter, with a clear emphasis on associating difference with subordination. "Respecting difference" enabled the French to make any number of divide-and-conquer distinctions among colonial troops, notably between *racés guerrières* and the *racés non-guerrières* (warlike and non-warlike races). A chronic shortage of officers and non-commissioned officers only grudgingly undermined the prejudice against promoting soldiers of color. The French language itself buttressed white French supremacy, though English, German, Russian, and Turkish doubtless served an analogous function in other multinational armies that fought in World War I. "Respecting" Islam enabled the French to use it as a barrier to citizenship for colonial veterans. Yet difference would resist management by the colonizer, notably in liaisons in the metropole between colonial soldiers and white women. While the actual incidence of such couplings will always remain unknown, they mocked efforts to keep difference in its place.

Scholars and general readers will find this book an indispensable introduction to a complex and potentially fraught subject. Any graduate student new to the field of French colonial history will want to read it right away. The sheer volume of research, consistently presented in a thoughtful and sophisticated manner, is perhaps the book's greatest strength. No military machine is easy to describe in this kind of engaging detail, let alone one as complex as the French colonial army. Fogarty shows a particularly subtle awareness of diversity within the colonial army, stemming from the fact that the French empire meant very different things in different places. Yet it is puzzling that the author largely avoids perhaps the single most fraught question—were colonial troops used more as cannon fodder in World War I than metropolitan troops? I have always doubted this, given how commanders such as Mangin used white soldiers; however, as Fogarty notes, Joe Lunn disagrees (see *Memoirs of the Maelstrom: A Senegalese History of the First World War* [1999]). Still, this is an elegant and well-argued study that deserves wide circulation, in the classroom and beyond.

LEONARD V. SMITH  
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LEONARD V. SMITH. *The Embattled Self: French Soldiers' Testimony of the Great War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 214. \$39.95.

Social and cultural historians of war and of modern France already know Leonard V. Smith from his pathbreaking *Mutiny amid Obedience: The Case of the Fifth French Infantry Division during World War I* (1994). In that book, Smith redefined our understanding of French soldiers of World War I by presenting them as active participants in a process of negotiation with the French Army. In this book, Smith has given us another pathbreaking argument that should do much to advance our understanding of Europeans at war from 1914 to 1918. This book has all of the virtues of Smith's early work, including a diligent use of underutilized first-person French sources, a careful analytic eye to interpret those sources, and a sincere empathy for the men who lived through the horrendous wars of the trenches. By examining the soldier as witness to the great tragedy that the war represented, Smith dissects the scholarly tension of relying on testimonies that were themselves as much about the narratives of war as about soldiers' actual, lived experiences.

Smith takes a cue from the World War I veteran and scholar Jean-Norton Cru, whose *Témoins* (1929) helped to establish an analytic framework for understanding the constructed experience of war through the recollections of soldiers. Smith carries Cru's analysis one step further, arguing that a metanarrative developed around soldiers' writings of World War I that depicted the soldier as both victim and brute. This metanarrative created stable and static identities for the soldiers that have become stale and even hackneyed over time. A re-examination of soldier testimony, Smith posits, will return to them their basic humanity and introduce a great deal of complexity to a picture that has for too long been overly simplified.

This study admirably accomplishes its goals through an organizational framework that follows soldiers as they experienced war. The first chapter focuses on the initiation of men to their trench experience, a liminal rite of passage that the French called the *baptême du feu*. The transformative experience of war "defied narrative conclusion" (p. 58) but at the same time cried out for explanation. The influence of Paul Fussell is here, but Smith carries the argument further in part two, which focuses on the reconstruction of narratives in an attempt to explain what had become essentially unexplainable. Soldier stories of death and destruction refracted and shifted focus from reality, allowing the survivor to become less a victim or perpetrator of violence than an arbiter of the war's critical events whose voice became all the more authentic for having witnessed and survived the trenches.

Part three elegantly and creatively returns to the theme of consent that was so central to *Mutiny amid Obedience*. Smith uses soldier narratives to analyze the seeming paradox that the uglier and more brutal the war became, the more committed soldiers became to

fighting it. This consent was vital to the successful prosecution of the war because, despite the tremendous losses France had suffered, French consent for the war grew stronger while German consent faded. Although a comparison of France and Germany is not central to this work, Smith argues that French consent, based on republicanism, could be disentangled from chauvinism or even nationalism in a fashion not possible for the Germans. The final part of the book examines novels as a means for soldiers to seek closure. Novels, as fictive constructions of reality, gave soldiers the narrative and literary flexibility they needed to convey their experiences through language. Closure in the immediate post-war years often meant rejection of war, but this rejection risked losing faith with one's dead comrades and the causes for which they died. The 1930s made the notion of tragedy so manifest to European readers that fiction need not repeat or reinforce it. Thus fiction gave the war meaning, but that meaning had less to do with the war itself than its aftermaths.

I have admired Smith's ability to use social history methods to analyze problems related to war and soldiers since I first read *Mutiny amid Obedience*. This book is more than a worthy successor and solidifies (if any solidification were needed) Smith's place as one of the foremost scholars of the social history of war and military service. It takes the arguments of Cru, Fussell, and others to new levels. It also adds to the existing, mostly anglocentric literature a fuller and more complex analysis of the experiences of French soldiers. As such it deserves as wide a readership and as profound an influence as Smith's earlier works.

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DAVID D. HAMLIN. *Work and Play: The Production and Consumption of Toys in Germany, 1870–1914*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2007. Pp. x, 286. \$70.00.

Thinking of the industrial products of imperial Germany brings to mind Krupp steel and BASF synthetic dyes, not teddy bears and Märklin model railroads. But, as David D. Hamlin reminds us in his study of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century German toy industry, light manufacturing was an important part of the German economy and society of the time and the subject of debates about social theory and public policy. In his book's four substantial chapters—one each on toys as objects of consumption, manufacturing, social and cultural theory, and social policy—Hamlin attempts to link production and consumption, government policy, and political and intellectual debates to produce an investigation of the origins of a consumer society in Central Europe, the varieties of manufacturing in a period of rapid and dynamic industrialization, the nature of the self in the transition to a modern world of consumption, and the possibilities and limits of state intervention in economic activity in an era of global-

ization. This is an ambitious agenda for a slender book with a fairly narrow source base—primarily the trade periodicals of the toy industry—resulting in an intriguing work where assertions are sometimes more stated than demonstrated and where interconnections are sometimes more presumed than investigated.

The first chapter deals with the consumption of toys. Hamlin investigates the practice of giving toys as Christmas gifts and suggests a gradual transition from the sale of toys at open-air Christmas markets, with their small pedler-vendors, to the well-advertised sale of toys in retail establishments, increasingly large department stores. He considers parental motivations for giving toys and the gendered structure of toy giving—dolls for girls, construction and scientific toys for boys. In a second chapter on the economics of toy manufacture, the author demonstrates the growing differentiation of production in the three regional centers of German toy manufacturing. Manufacturing in Nuremberg, centering on metal toys, was increasingly industrialized, taking place in larger factories, employing powered machinery. By contrast, the manufacture of toys in Thuringia and Saxony, centering on dolls and wooden products, while steadily expanding, continued as outworking. Nominally independent small producers, toiling in home workshops, utilizing the labor of their entire family, in debt to merchant capitalists, who provided them with credit and purchased their output, earned a very meager living.

In the third chapter, Hamlin considers debates about the nature and function of toys. He argues that two different positions emerged by the late nineteenth century, both with long intellectual antecedents. One, espoused by toy manufacturers themselves, involved a realist viewpoint, arguing in favor of toys that reproduced the details of the adult world they imitated, as a way of preparing children for the future place in that world. The other position, taken up by cultural, artistic, and political reformers of the Wilhelmine era, maintained that such realistic toys suppressed children's imaginations. Instead, they wanted simpler toys that would encourage imaginative play, thus developing children's intellects and their sense of self. Hamlin suggests, convincingly, that these reforming positions go back to the critiques of a nascent modernity first posed by Germany's classicist and romantic intellectuals at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the final chapter, the author discusses social policy debates over outworking, contrasting the attitudes of toy manufacturers, social democrats, and bourgeois social reformers. He also investigates economic debates on government policy, both long-studied ones, such as protectionism versus free trade, and other, less obvious ones, like the nature of the product mix and the skills of the labor force to which an industrialized country, such as Germany, should aspire in a globalized economy.

In all these very interesting chapters, two persistent weaknesses appear. The chapter on toy consumption, for instance, suffers from one of these problems: the

lack of empirical evidence. Hamlin can say little about how the children who consumed the toys actually used them—and, indeed, offers no discussion of the unique nature of toy consumption where the purchaser and the consumer are different individuals. The interconnections between different aspects of the production and consumption of toys, which the author suggests in the introduction is key to his work, is also not always apparent. One would like to know the effects of the debate about the proper kinds of toys for the production and consumption of toys. Was there, for instance, a market differentiation between “realist” and “imaginative” toys for consumers with different income and educational levels—the sort of product differentiation quite familiar today? In spite of such problems, which perhaps reflect the difficulties in finding evidence on the topics of an ambitious investigation, this work offers a good deal of interesting reading and intriguing insights into the economic, social, cultural, and intellectual crosscurrents common to all the economically advanced countries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the way that these general trends played out in Central Europe.

JONATHAN SPERBER  
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BERNARD MEES. *The Science of the Swastika*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 363. \$45.00.

In his now largely forgotten treatise *Massenpsychologie des Faschismus* (1933), Wilhelm Reich pointed out that the swastika was originally a sexual symbol, an ideograph suggesting sexual intercourse between mother earth and father god. And of course, when examined closely, a swastika *does* look like a couple of stick figures arrested in the act of copulation. Wrote Reich: “It can be safely assumed that this symbol which represents two intertwined bodies is a powerful stimulus to deep-seated emotional strivings; the more powerful the more unsatisfied and sexually longing the individual is” (*The Mass Psychology of Fascism* [1970], p. 87). So when the Nazis gazed in reverence at their party's provocative symbol, were they secretly engaging in powerful but repressed sexual fantasies? Was the swastika such a compelling totem in their social-psychological arsenal because it underpinned the movement's stated political goals with unstated currents of sexual longing?

For good or for ill, the reader will learn nothing about the social-psychological meanings of the swastika symbol, whatever they might be, from Bernard Mees's book. In fact, the title is somewhat misleading, for lore regarding the swastika per se does not stand at the center of this study. Mees's work is neither an investigation of the swastika's varied cultural and religious significance over the ages nor an in-depth examination of its latter-day appropriation by the German National Socialists, who of course transformed it into the great taboo icon of modern times. Instead, this book is an exhaustive—and sometimes exhausting—excursion into

the broader field of *Sinnbildforschung*, a subdiscipline of Old Germanic studies that focused on the explication of ideographs dating from ancient German history and prehistory. Along with the Old Norse and Germanic runes that would later so fascinate SS leader Heinrich Himmler, the swastika caught the interest of nineteenth-century German academics and amateur researchers who hoped to use these mysterious symbols as a key to unlock the supposedly bountiful treasure chest of Old Germanic culture.

For Mees, the central story here is the process through which this multifaceted inquiry, which embraced archaeology, philology, anthropology, and folklore, gradually became subsumed into the highly tendentious and politicized *völkisch* movement that culminated in National Socialism. The second half of his book takes up the Nazis' own, often contradictory and competing efforts to expand and refine the study of ancient Germanic culture and symbols. The primary players here were chief party ideologist Alfred Rosenberg, who established a Reich Association for German Prehistory, and Himmler, whose SS Ahnenerbe (SS Ancestral Inheritance Foundation) quickly surpassed Rosenberg's institute as the dominant force in what passed as the "scientific" study of Old Germanic culture in the Third Reich. Mees rightly points out that Adolf Hitler himself did not take much interest in the Old Germanic cult (and the author might have added that the same holds true for other leading Nazi figures like Joseph Goebbels, Hermann Göring, Albert Speer, Reinhard Heydrich, and Martin Bormann). Mees is also correct in pointing out that the bitter rivalries among the various Nazi "experts" on the meaning of Old Germanic traditions and symbols mirrored the pervasive political feuding among Hitler's satraps throughout the Third Reich.

For anyone interested in the intricacies of *Sinnbildforschung* and its corollary disciplines as they were practiced in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century through the end of the Third Reich, this book is certainly useful. One learns a great deal about a host of obscure researchers who plowed the loamy fields of Germanic prehistory and ethnology. For example, one encounters the "runologist" Ludwig Wilsner, who in the early twentieth century wrote dozens of learned essays promoting his theory that runes were a creation of primordial Germanic antiquity. Or one stumbles across Friedrich Bernhard Marby, promoter of a form of *völkisch* gymnastics he called "Rune-Yoga," an enterprise so half-baked that even Himmler blanched, eventually consigning Marby to a concentration camp for bringing the ancient German ancestors into disrepute. One can turn to a number of other studies for information regarding Rosenberg's and Himmler's cultural projects, but for the origins and development of *Sinnbildforschung*, Mees's book is the place to go.

One must doubt, however, whether an in-depth knowledge of all this lore is necessary for someone whose central interest is in what made National Socialism tick. Old Germanic studies and runology may have

consumed Himmler and Rosenberg, but these pursuits had little impact on actual policy making in the Third Reich. They were not instrumental in Hitler's wars or even in the "Final Solution." The swastika, of course, stood as Nazi Germany's chief totem, but few Nazis, least of all Hitler, had any interest in what ancient Germanic significance it might have had. Eyeing Nazism's "twisted cross," Hitler may just have been thinking about Eva Braun.

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GERWIN STROBL. *The Swastika and the Stage: German Theater and Society, 1933–1945*. (Cambridge Studies in Modern Theater.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 341. \$95.00.

Thinking about theater along historical lines has become more widespread in recent years. The exploration of theater and theatrical performances as a dimension of history has been transformed from the stuff of footnotes into an important object of study. Instead of defining boundaries between culture and society, scholars now rightly emphasize their interaction. The aim of these efforts is to bring cultural practices back into history and to use performances as a stage for a specific interdisciplinary approach. In other words, the aim is to establish the extent to which the history of culture can offer new perspectives on modern political history. What is needed, in fact, is a change of perspective, a move away from the study of cultural achievements toward an investigation of actual experiences and the practices of the participants in performances. Since the theater needs staging, attendance, and attention, it triggers meaning and significance.

Gerwin Strobl's book examines the structure of German theaters between 1933 and 1945, the cultural background of the production, and the public reception of music, along with the impact of performances. Strobl analyzes the theater within the context of this historical period. In the first six chapters Strobl's research concentrates on the ideological intentions that shaped the theater during the Nazi period. He looks at certain history plays, German theater tours across the European continent, the reception of audiences, and the shape of nationalism and racism on and behind the stage. The final three chapters focus on politics. He also examines the impact of patronage and propaganda from near-bankruptcy in the early Nazi period to its destruction in World War II.

An important aspect of this approach is that for German society, theater was one of the means of celebrating a superior civilization. It was, therefore, not just another art form or social experience but a cultural form of politics. The empirical focus of Strobl's book rests upon the agents of music. On the one hand, the project aspires to study the producers of theater: authors, artists, directors, and officials. On the other hand, it looks at the consumers of performances: i.e., critics and the respective audiences. The point is to reveal the primar-



ily social and political function of this form of entertainment by analyzing the beliefs and behaviors of audiences more than the performances themselves. Even the theater of the Nazi period can be regarded as a multivalent place, where different audiences could receive different messages from the same production. Moreover, this study takes into account the impact of the media: gramophone, radio, film, and reports on performances or actors in the thriving popular press. But media are more than just neutral transmitters; their methods of transmission shape people's perception, thus creating social realities. Therefore, theater life reveals the political dimension of a seemingly nonpolitical entertainment as well.

Europe's cultural history of the 1930s and early 1940s was overshadowed by Germany's pursuit of cultural hegemony—first in Germany and eventually across the continent. Nazi powerbrokers as well as many “ordinary” people firmly believed in the cultural superiority of the German nation and the Germanic “race.” From their point of view German art represented the highest level of cultural perfection, which had to be promoted across Europe by any means necessary. The Nazi elite could therefore quite easily attach their dogma of a German cultural superiority to the realm of theater. In the course of World War II, theater productions became an instrument of occupation politics while their alleged superiority helped to legitimize Nazi violence. In reading this book, it is important to see how the nation and its enemies, how heroes and traitors, and how wars and historical events in general were staged and transmitted to various countries. The last years of peace in Europe as well as the period of World War II were characterized by extraordinarily intense tours of theater companies, the transfer of plays, productions, ensembles, and actors. In particular, audiences in Belgium, the Netherlands, and France became the target of Germany's cultural invasion after 1939.

Strobl's book convincingly demonstrates how cultural receptions and exchange not only fostered processes of understanding, tolerance, and learning, but also of delineation and demarcation. Apart from some minor analytical oversights—e.g., arguing that our generation could more easily observe that German theaters led to Auschwitz (p. 120)—this is an important study in that it successfully combines various historical, sociological, and cultural perspectives. Analyzing the German theater provides a link between cultural production and society, allowing us to study the processes by which historical meaning is produced. It is therefore important to note how twentieth-century German theater became instrumentalized in a corrupt political system. The question remains whether these processes of mutual public assessment and cultural exchange of the German theater would have been possible with any other cultural practice.

SVEN OLIVER MÜLLER,  
Bielefeld University

SVEN OLIVER MÜLLER. *Deutsche Soldaten und ihre Feinde: Nationalsozialismus an Front und Heimatfront im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Frankfurt, Germany: S. Fischer Verlag. 2007. Pp. 329. €19.90.

What turned German soldiers into willing executioners of the German war of annihilation? Historical research has shown that a significant part of the German military personnel took part actively in criminal warfare on the eastern front and in the Balkans. We also know that while it was more likely on some theaters of World War II and for certain types of military units to get deeply involved in the German *Vernichtungskrieg*, coincidence determined more or less the individual soldiers who found themselves in such circumstances. Yet almost everyone challenged by the decision to become a perpetrator stayed within his frame of reference and played his part. Confronted with the choice of whether to commit or to resist participation in a crime of war or against humanity, soldiers almost never decided to disobey.

While recent studies of individual and group biographies have further advanced our knowledge on motivations, actions, and responsibilities of German military elites, our picture of the inner world of the ordinary rank and file soldier in the German army is still marked by many blank spots. One important reason is the kind of historical sources available on these groups. While elites usually leave a broad paper trail behind, the vast majority of the eighteen million men who belonged to the German armed forces during World War II have not produced extensive evidence and testimony on their war experience and world view. Trying to cope with this relative scarcity, historians have focused on soldiers' letters—the sole type of ego-documents that has survived *en masse*—to arrive at empirically funded conclusions about the motivations, perceptions, and interpretations of the actors on the lowest level of the military hierarchy.

Drawing extensively from his chapter in volume 9/1 of the seminal series *The German Reich and the Second World War* (2004), Sven Oliver Müller advances his work in this field with a somewhat focused and sharpened approach in the book under review. He analyzes the links between German nationalism and National Socialism in the mind of the German soldier, based on the study of a sample of letters. The study is clearly structured and based on a sound theoretical concept presented and discussed in the introductory chapter. The first part examines the radicalization of conventional German nationalism during the interwar years, its redefinition and transformation into a National Socialist version embodied in the term *Volksgemeinschaft*, and its dissemination among and absorption by different social groups within the German population. The following chapter focuses on the ideological foundations and interpretations of the war against the Soviet Union and probes into the traces both phenomena have left in the private communications between soldiers and their kin. The final section is devoted to the effects of the merger between nationalism and National Social-

ism on the behavior of German soldiers on the eastern front. Müller identifies this ideological pattern as a crucial force binding soldiers to the cause of National Socialism while giving sense to their deeds and experiences. The author thus argues that this combination was an indispensable precondition for the willing participation of ordinary soldiers in the war of annihilation and moreover became a driving force of its radicalization.

Müller undoubtedly points out one of the most important but also most evasive elements in the complex quest to understand what constituted a willing perpetrator of Nazi crimes. His book is a well-written and elaborate study. However, two caveats limit this positive impression. The first is intrinsic to any focused approach: concentrating on one aspect will push others into the background. Müller places his findings within the context neither of the Wehrmacht as a military and social system nor of situational factors that also had a profound impact on soldiers' decisions and behavior. The second problem is a graver methodological issue. Almost any assumption can be supported by constructed samples of letters from the available collections that form the empirical backbone of Müller's work. The author has identified the existence of a phenomenon but actually cannot evaluate its significance beyond guided speculations. As neither the option to apply advanced sampling techniques to the underlying sources nor that to link letters to their writers through the use of military personnel records has yet been fully exploited, this deficit was not inevitable. It also highlights where future research is needed. This criticism is attenuated, however, by Müller's clear recognition of the limited range of his study. He states—and fulfills—his goal to put a tessera into a complex mosaic. Müller never claims to achieve more than his approach allows for, which is the way this book has to be read.

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PATRICIA HEBERER and JÜRGEN MATTHÄUS, editors. *Atrocities on Trial: Historical Perspectives on the Politics of Prosecuting War Crimes*. Foreword by MICHAEL R. MARRUS. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2008. Pp. xxx, 327. \$29.95.

At the end of World War II the victorious allies and liberated nations of Europe were immediately confronted with the problem of what to do about the thousands of Nazi perpetrators who had committed atrocious acts across the length and breadth of the continent. In a remarkable departure from prior precedent the victors and victims chose to place their chief reliance on legal proceedings to identify and punish Nazi murderers and torturers. The world came to associate these efforts with the trial conducted before the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg in 1945–1946. However, the turn to law was much more widespread and its processes far more diverse. This edited volume, containing thirteen essays by ten authors,

sets out to explore the non-IMT legal responses to wartime criminality. It begins with background—the Leipzig prosecutions of a number of alleged German war criminals in a German court after the conclusion of World War I—and then considers U.S., British, and Soviet military trials (including the twelve so-called “successor” trials conducted by the Americans at Nuremberg), as well as prosecutions undertaken by the two Germanys, Austria, and France. The trials under consideration spanned fifty years, though most were concluded by the early 1970s.

The essays underscore the remarkable breadth of the legal effort. The U.S. Army, for example, conducted not only the twelve successor trials involving 185 civil servants, military commanders, prominent doctors, jurists, and Einsatzkommando leaders but also a wide variety of other cases including, by December 1947, 226 trials involving crimes against American victims (with 646 defendants of whom 113 were acquitted [p. 56]) and 232 “mass atrocity trials” (with 1,030 defendants of whom 145 were acquitted [pp. 61–62]). The British Army held 358 trials involving approximately 1,100 defendants (p. 125). The French, Soviets, Austrians, and Germans all pressed the trial mechanism into service. For instance, East and West Germany each prosecuted over 6,000 defendants (p. 224).

These “other” trials ranged from the extremely elaborate successor prosecutions at Nuremberg to thousands of East German proceedings conducted at high speed before forums that have been disparaged as “kangaroo courts” (p. 175). The stories and records of these trials provide an enormously valuable resource to those interested in either historical developments in postwar Europe or the strengths and weaknesses of various approaches to the prosecution of large numbers of alleged perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Among the lessons these trials teach—consistent with the conclusion of a number of other scholarly analyses—is that nations most often begin the prosecution process in a self-interested manner, focusing primarily on crimes against their own citizens. This is what the U.S. Army did in its earliest cases, pursuing those who had lynched downed American airmen or killed American prisoners of war. It is also what the British did, most particularly in their early work on crimes committed in the Ravensbrück concentration camp (p. 129). The postwar proceedings also demonstrate the unavoidable necessity of narrowing the scope of the prosecutorial effort. The British came to this realization early in their examination of criminality among members of the German medical profession. Initial appraisals suggested that perhaps ninety percent of Germany's medical elite was implicated in “unethical medical experiments” (p. 127). There could be no prosecution of all those involved without undermining postwar Germany's health care system, so only the particularly horrifying acts of a small number of doctors and medical administrators were focused on and the vast majority were left, more or less, alone. This pattern

of winnowing, based on necessity and atrocity, continues to this day; it seems to undergird the Rwandan *gacacha* process of disclosure and pardon.

Scrutiny of the postwar proceedings also demonstrates the seemingly irresistible lure of atrocity proof and its eventual pushing aside of virtually all other sorts of claims. As trial followed upon trial, the focus of legal proceedings became ever narrower. The key and virtually exclusive subject became the physical commission of atrocities by the defendant. What was lost, over time, was a focus on the desk murderers who made the administrative apparatus of oppression and death run. Examining the history of these proceedings also underscores the increasing difficulty of pursuing malefactors at a substantial remove from the time of their offenses. Memory fades, political will dissolves, defendants become more evasive, and the process eventually stalls no matter how grave the offenses.

The essays in this volume generally pursue a revisionist line—for example, praising the frequently reviled efforts at Leipzig to prosecute at least some of the kaiser's minions. The same revisionist sensibility leads many of the authors to criticize the post-World War II proceedings as inadequate in scope, politically influenced, and lacking in understanding of matters like the Holocaust and the eugenics movement. This critical orientation has the salutary effect of deflating a good deal of the self-congratulatory rhetoric that has distorted our understanding of the prosecutorial effort.

Yet, revisionism introduces its own set of distortions. Praise for the Leipzig effort obscures the fact that the British were so discouraged by the experience that after World War II they were by far the most insistent on shooting high-ranking Nazis without trial. The revisionist tack taken in this collection also tends to paint the prosecutors as better informed and less concerned about the Holocaust than they actually were. The depravity and scope of the Shoah dawned slowly on the world. General Telford Taylor, the chief Nuremberg successor trials prosecutor, has said that he did not understand the nature and true horror of the Holocaust until well into the original IMT trial. The "fog" of the postwar period was very real. The recognition of what the camps were and what they implied came haltingly. The shock and dismay of Dwight D. Eisenhower, George S. Patton, and Omar Bradley upon viewing the camps bespeaks an innocence about Nazi bestiality that took a long time to overcome.

The book is a fascinating volume that opens up a rich and important topic that for too long has languished in the shadow of the IMT. Unfortunately, the essays are just too brief to do justice to their assigned topics. (They average about twenty-five pages.) Not one takes a close look at the actual trials, the evidence presented, or the lawyers' efforts. There is scant reference to trial transcripts, and the various authors generally paint with an extremely broad brush concerning such matters as political influence on the trial process, postwar German judicial self-protection, and other complicated questions. As with any collection of essays on a single topic

there is a good deal of repetition and overlap, especially about the legal foundation for the trials. While most essays are well written and organized, several give the appearance of having been overwhelmed by the scope and volume of the material to be covered. This is most particularly apparent in the essay addressing the twelve subsequent Nuremberg trials. It is to be hoped that this initial effort will lead to further exploration of this rich and varied body of material most particularly in light of the world's ongoing struggle to respond effectively to mass atrocity.

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NATHAN STOLTZFUS and HENRY FRIEDLANDER, editors. *Nazi Crimes and the Law*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press, with the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.. 2008. Pp. ix, 225. \$70.00.

This volume grows out of a 2003 conference in Amsterdam intended to "examine the way the Allied nations and Germans themselves used the law to prosecute those who had carried out the German state's genocidal crimes during the Nazi period" (p. 1). As such, it exhibits the virtues and vices typical of many conference proceedings. On the one hand, many of the chapters present innovative and up-to-date research on lesser-known topics that have yet to find their way into the monographic literature. Therefore, parts of this book can be read as a valuable first approach to burgeoning research. On the other hand, the quality of the individual chapters varies noticeably. While some are impressively researched case studies and others are useful précis of larger monographic projects, several are occasional essays that skate lightly over their topics and say little that will be new to readers familiar with the history of postwar Nazi prosecutions. The book as a whole is less coherent than its stated purpose—"to discuss and analyze how international as well as national law was used to prosecute Nazi criminals"—would seem to indicate. Several of the chapters bear only a tangential relationship to the overall project, while there are numerous gaps in the coverage that prevent the book from serving as a comprehensive overview of the history of Nazi trials. Nuremberg itself receives only a brief, cursory treatment, while the trials in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are missing entirely. (Readers seeking a comprehensive introduction to the topic would be better served by Norbert Frei's 2006 edited volume, *Transnationale Vergangenheitspolitik*.) As a whole, therefore, the book falls somewhat between two stools. It is too spotty in its coverage and many of the chapters are too highly specialized for the book to function as a general introduction to the history of Nazi trials. At the same time, other chapters are of a rather cursory and introductory nature, making the volume less useful than it might have been for specialists.

Broadly speaking, the best chapters in the book can

be divided into two categories: case studies (chapters by Dick de Mildt and Nathan Stoltzfus) and synthetic overviews of whole categories of trials (chapters by Patricia Heberer, Michael Bryant, Joachim Perels, and Annette Weinke). De Mildt and Stoltzfus both trace the trajectory of individual cases through the German courts, stressing in each case the ways in which postwar German courts were strongly influenced by the jurisprudence and ideology of their wartime counterparts. Heberer and Bryant offer accounts of different aspects of the U.S. war crimes trials program, the very early Military Commission trials, and the U.S. Army's concentration camp trials, respectively. Finally, Perels and Weinke offer broader accounts of West German trials in the 1950s and 1960s.

Of the case study chapters, de Mildt's "Getting Away with Murder" is the most compelling. It tells the fascinating and important story of Max Täubner, an SS Untersturmführer (second lieutenant) who was convicted by an SS court in 1943 for excess brutality and breach of discipline for his role in organizing unauthorized executions of thousands of Jews in the fall of 1941. According to de Mildt, two things are crucial about the Täubner case. The first is that Täubner was convicted not of murder but of breach of discipline. Indeed, the SS court ruled: "The defendant should not be punished for his actions against Jews as such. The Jews must be exterminated; there is no loss in any of the killed Jews" (p. 104). Rather, what the court found criminal in Täubner's behavior was the way in which he killed Jews. "It is not the German way to apply Bolshevik methods during the necessary extermination of the worst enemy of our people" (p. 105). The SS verdict against Täubner was fully in keeping with executive decisions by Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler prohibiting the prosecution of even unauthorized killings of Jews as homicide. The Holocaust was thus not so much legalized, in that it was never legislated, as it was decriminalized. The second crucial point about the Täubner case, according to de Mildt, is what it reveals about postwar Nazi trials. Täubner survived the war, and prosecutors attempted to indict him for his wartime crimes in the 1970s. These efforts failed, however, because the court ruled that such an indictment would constitute double jeopardy. Postwar West German courts typically viewed legal verdicts from the Third Reich as valid and therefore as binding on the courts of the Federal Republic, even when, as in the Täubner case, their legal reasoning was morally and politically reprehensible.

Of the more synoptic chapters, Weinke's account of the impact of inter-German relations on the prosecution of Nazi criminals in both Germanys in the 1950s and 1960s is especially valuable. Basically a short précis of the argument of her 2002 monograph, the chapter provides English-language readers with a useful introduction to this important work. In the early 1950s, both Germanys evinced a desire to let the Nazi past fade into history. "The two German states were conspicuously similar in their collective silence about the question of

responsibility for the Nazis' crimes and in their disregard of the Nazi past" (p. 158). In the West, Nazi prosecutions declined to almost nothing after 1950, while Konrad Adenauer's government pursued a "dual strategy" (p. 162) of rejecting Nazi values while actively reintegrating Nazis into state and society. In East Germany, Nazi trials were instrumentalized to help root out anticommunist elements and consolidate the Stalinist dictatorship, especially in the so-called Waldheim trials of 1950. This situation changed dramatically in the late 1950s, however. In 1958, West Germany founded the Central Office for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Ludwigsburg and resumed the active investigation of Nazi crimes, leading to a striking increase in Nazi prosecutions in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, without necessarily embracing a more collective understanding of Nazi culpability.

The ordinary story is that the 1958 Ulm Einsatzkommando Trial brought to light the scale of as yet unpunished Nazi crimes and reawakened Germans to the moral burden of their dark past. Weinke rejects this interpretation as overly simplistic and idealistic. Her argument, rather, is that East Germany discovered the propaganda value of West Germany's generous reintegration of former Nazis. Combing the archives, East Germans were able to unmask the rather unsavory histories of many prominent West German officials. This created something of a legitimization crisis for the Federal Republic on the international stage and threatened to undermine Adenauer's carefully crafted strategy of integration into the West. The ad hoc response was to reinvigorate the institutions responsible for prosecuting Nazi atrocities, leading to what Weinke calls a "'judicialization' of the discourse on the past" (p. 163). As with the other strong chapters in the volume, Weinke's integrates the political history of postwar Germany and the legal history of Nazi prosecutions in a way that sheds significant light on the workings of both.

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DOLORES L. AUGUSTINE. *Red Prometheus: Engineering and Dictatorship in East Germany, 1945–1990*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2007. Pp. xxx, 381. \$40.00.

The Promethean goal of the political elite in East Germany (GDR) was to construct a society that was both socialist and superior to that of capitalist West Germany. Technology was central to this mission and initial dependence on "bourgeois" engineers and scientists inevitable. Later these generally apolitical specialists would be replaced by cadres socialized and trained in the GDR. Dolores L. Augustine's interesting study looks at German specialists in the postwar USSR, engineering professionalism during the early GDR years, challenges in the Walter Ulbricht era, and the experience of high-tech research managers. After discussing technological fantasies in culture and propaganda, it



examines careers in the Erich Honecker era, particularly during the “new cold war” of the 1980s.

A historian notably of the Wilhelmine business elite, Augustine mentions she gained the idea for her latest book after reading Thomas A. Baylis's *The Technical Intelligentsia and the East German Elite* (1974). She does not compare the two books, but Augustine is particularly concerned with how effectively technical experts resisted the “totalitarian impulse” of the Communist Party, whereas Baylis was interested in how far they were recruited into the political elite. Augustine had the advantages of accessing GDR archives and conducting interviews. She interweaves this information with the findings of secondary, especially German, literature that has appeared in recent years. Augustine investigates a narrower occupational group than Baylis: his “technical intelligentsia” included not only engineers and scientists but also economic and planning functionaries, all levels of industrial managers, and specialized journalists. Whereas Baylis wrote his study against a backdrop of discussions on “technocracy,” Augustine uses an eclectic mix of historical and biographical methods.

Augustine argues that the pre-socialist professional ethos survived until the 1960s and that engineering later developed into a mass profession of lower prestige and autonomy, political loyalty becoming the main criterion for career advancement. Particular strengths of her study are its biographies based partly on oral history, its attention to female engineers, and its elucidation of the Stasi's role in technical change. Augustine portrays hauntingly how individual managers were made scapegoats for systemic and political problems. Her depiction of the Stasi involvement of Zeiss research director Klaus Mütze is fascinating and seems fair, although it may require future reassessment because the official records used were sketchy.

The regime introduced a more praxis-oriented model of higher education, and Augustine argues that the 1967 reform replaced the traditional, patriarchal structure of universities with a centralized structure controlled by the Socialist Unity Party (SED). Here, however, one should perhaps beware of implicitly comparing East Germany's system with idealized models of higher education, whether pre-socialist or West German. The West German system in particular did not remain entirely in the prewar mold. It also encouraged closer contacts with industry, creating new types of tertiary vocational colleges and more practical areas of study, but upon introduction into East Germany as part of unification, it was characterized by bureaucracy, underfunding, and in older institutions by overcrowding and long study durations.

Augustine possibly underrates the difficulty of forecasting technological success and the importance of enterprises concentrating on core technologies. She criticizes as “particularly fateful and wrong-headed” the GDR's decision to try and create a cheap alternative to silicon-based integrated circuits using ceramic wafers (p. 131). She also says that Paul Görlich, Mütze's pre-

decessor, showed “little foresight” for wanting Zeiss to stick to optics and precision instruments and not to expand to microelectronics (p. 159).

The bold scope of the study has resulted in some aspects receiving only limited attention. Günter Mittag's influence on engineering might have been depicted more strongly. Contours of the philosophical discussion of the “scientific-technical revolution” could also have been included. However, support for certain important contentions would have been welcome. Could East Germany really have become “an electronics powerhouse” to rival “if not Japan, certainly South Korea” (p. 127)? Was the innovative process in the Soviet Union incredibly more dynamic than that in the GDR (p. 349)? Were huge resources “wasted” as a result of the decision made in 1961 to shut down the East German aviation industry (p. 119)? And how did German engineers working in the USSR make “significant contributions to Soviet technological development” given the difficulties Augustine describes (p. 9)?

Similarly, Augustine concludes cursorily that “Nazi Germany [was] so much more successful” than the GDR in science and technology and that “the Nazi model itself worked better than the East German model” (p. 348). These arguments extend those of historians who reject the thesis that science under Nazism was comprehensively suppressed in favor of one in which many disciplines actually thrived. Yet how does she measure success and efficiency? How did science and technology compare in the two dictatorships with respect to direction, organization, manpower, source of finance, moral responsibility, and state ideology?

Overall, however, Augustine's book provides valuable insight into the relationship between East Germany's political elite and high-tech experts and helps explain why the country could not match West Germany in industrial sophistication. This work deserves a wide readership, particularly among those engaged in German studies, East European affairs, and the role of technology in society. It is a stimulating contribution to the growing historiography of GDR and East European technology.

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ROBERT P. STEPHENS. *Germans on Drugs: The Complications of Modernization in Hamburg*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 318. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.95.

Robert P. Stephens's study is without doubt a pioneering work. Besides Klaus Weinbauer there is no other researcher in the field of drug consumption, drug culture, drug politics, and police measures in Germany during the 1960s. Stephens not only considers drug consumption as a new mode of youth culture but also explains the larger circuit of commodities. More than he was able to do in his essay in David Crew's edited collection, *Consuming Germany in the Cold War* (2003),

Stephens here develops the topic in various dimensions: a historical survey about the changes of drug consumption and drug policy from the German Empire to West Germany after World War II; a picture of the development of a subcultural drug scene; the internationalization of the drug business; and the political as well as police attempts to get the drug problem under control. Drug consumption in the 1960s and 1970s was not only a problem of addiction but also an expression of changing "consumption regimes" (Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire* [2005]) and, paradoxically, of criticism on the developing consumer society at the same time.

Hamburg as the local focus of Stephens's study is well chosen, because it is not only one of the big and important German cities but a great harbor, too, and therefore one of the most important trade centers for illegal drugs before the iron curtain was lifted at the end of the 1980s.

The book is organized into two parts. The first five chapters outline the development of the drug scene in Hamburg from the German Empire until the 1970s and the state's attempt to gain control of it. The last three chapters deal with the problem of drug consumption thematically by raising the question of "counterculture" ideology and practice in the early 1970s, the question of gender, and the failures of Germany's first antidrug campaign.

Stephens is well aware of the double-dealing of West German society, which did not object to the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes but damned and persecuted the consumption of hashish, marijuana, and LSD. Therefore his chapter about the politics of drugs is well argued, analyzing lucidly the various attempts and persistent failures of politicians as well as police to prevent drug consumption. While politicians debated, private and public groups attempted to find alternative ways to deal with the new social problem, founding therapeutic communities, cafés for junkies, and self-help groups. By the late 1980s the political elite considered drug consumption to be not a police problem but a cultural phenomenon worthy of state oversight. From then on state services for drug users rose, and the youth department in the Hamburg Municipal Administration set up several therapy centers in the town and authorized outreach to drug addicts.

There were youth initiatives, too, like the "Release" movement in Hamburg at the end of 1969. The founders of "Release" wanted not only to aid young drug users but to offer an alternative, anti-authoritarian counterculture that promoted communes, alternative presses, macrobiotic restaurants, and hippy boutiques. "Release" increasingly earned the trust of the state administration and was awarded public funds for its work. But with political radicalization in the 1970s, "Release" began to fall apart. The self-governing structure of the therapeutic collectives became chaotic, and the Hamburg authorities turned hostile. In 1975 official funding of "Release" ended, and the group members gradually abandoned their activism.

Stephens's chapter on international trade dealing

with Turkey, Lebanon, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Balkans is largely an overview. The chapter on gender relies on poor sources, yet depicts rather more than the patriarchal stereotypes of female drug users. But these criticisms do not lessen the ground-breaking nature of the book. Stephens's style of writing vividly contrasts political and economic analysis with newspaper accounts and reports of individual drug users who talked about their personal experiences.

The book concludes with an excellent analysis of two famous German movies about the drug problem: Uli Edel's *Christiane F.* (1981), narrating the story of a young girl in Berlin using drugs and losing control over her life; and Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Die Sehnsucht der Veronika Voss* (1982), telling the drama of a middle-aged female actor who is addicted to morphine. Both films, produced at nearly the same time, are, as Stephens puts it, cautionary tales. Fassbinder warns of authoritarianism inherent in German society, and Edel advises young people of the danger of drug addiction. But both films mirrored the fundamental cultural change that had taken place in West Germany concerning the problem of drug consumption.

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DANA E. KATZ. *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance.* (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 228. \$55.00.

Dana E. Katz analyzes a number of fifteenth and sixteenth-century paintings and inscriptions that commemorate religious crimes attributed to Jews and represent Judaism as a defeated religion, superseded by a triumphant Christian Church. Her chosen territory is central and northern Italy, where several governments practiced a form of tolerance that had nothing to do with religious pluralism. Rather, it rested on a conviction that Catholicism was wholly right and Judaism altogether wrong. Nevertheless, for reasons both pious and pragmatic, Jews could be permitted to live on the margins of Christian society, not as citizens but as resident "others," outsiders who in hard times could well become selected targets for popular discontent.

Katz shows how the violent or oppressive acts that sometimes attended the relationship between Christians and Jews were translated into the "quiet" or "representational" violence of paintings. In some ways these exorcized actual violence. They justified tolerance by demonstrating that Jews would be punished for transgressions but also stored up trouble by recording the atrocities of which Jews were supposedly capable. The author's choice of subjects is varied and imaginative. She pays close attention to the events that paintings reflect and the motives of the patrons who commissioned them. Well acquainted with a large literature, extending knowledge by archival research and skilful use of the camera, she employs her iconographic expertise to bring out the hidden meanings of the work.

Some of the paintings refer unmistakably to members of the local Jewish community and to recent local happenings, others do not; some demonize and caricature Jews, others depict them without acrimony, but consign them symbolically to positions beneath the church and its saints.

There can be little doubt that, as the author argues, in Paolo Uccello's Urbino narrative of the profanation of a consecrated host, the villains of the piece are a Jew and his family—but they are so generically portrayed, without badges, caricature, or other opprobrious signs, that one wonders, perhaps heretically, whether the painting was intended as a general warning against the misuse of the host (inquisition records from the sixteenth century suggest that it was sometimes employed in magical rituals by persons who were certainly not Jews). Benvenuto da Garofalo's rendering, for the refectory of an Augustinian house in Ferrara, of the triumph of the church over a blindfolded synagogue does not refer to the Jews of his own time but represents with the use of violent symbols the relationship between a true and a false religion. Princely protectors had their lapses, as witness the arbitrary acts of Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua. Gonzaga was determined to extort from a leading local banker, Daniele Norsa, a large contribution to Andrea Mantegna's *Our Lady of Victory*, which adorned a church built on the site of the banker's demolished house. Another painting, the *Norsa Madonna*, depicts Daniele and his immediate family, not as grotesques, but as obstinate if weary opponents of Christian truth, excluded from the Christian framework of the picture. In striking contrast to these sad, dignified, and austere figures are the monstrous representations, in published woodcuts and frescoes in village churches, of the alleged ritual murder of the miracle-working child martyr Simon of Trent in 1475. Here the local Jews, apparently re-enacting the circumcision and crucifixion of Christ on the body of the tortured infant, are first portrayed as named individuals from the Tridentine community and then universalized, so that their crime becomes a crime of all Jews that could be—and supposedly was—repeated in other towns and villages.

Katz rightly destroys illusions about the certainty of tolerance, dwelling instead on the precarious balance between the princely protector and the angry crowd incited by the preacher promoting his charity bank to undermine Jewish usury. As she reminds us, the last of the fifteenth-century Medici rulers lifted the ban on the inflammatory Franciscan, Bernardino da Feltre; an inscription at Or San Michele in Florence commemorates the lynching of a destitute Sephardic Jew, accused of desecrating images, at the hands of a savage mob. Occasionally one wonders about the middle ground between these extremes: the elusive, unofficial, private, and personal relationships between Christians and Jews in the pre-ghetto era. Presumably many citizens whose goods had been pledged to Jews had a strong interest in the security of Jewish banks and a dread of the crowd intent on sacking the premises; in search of enthusiastic followers in Florence in 1488, Friar Bernardino had to

turn to children and adolescents. Did everyday relations sometimes recall Giovanni Boccaccio's pleasant story of the friendship between the Parisian merchant and the righteous Jew he hoped to convert (*Decameron*, First Day, Second Story), or did they more often foreshadow the encounters between Shylock and his tormentors in *The Merchant of Venice*?

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ELIZABETH HORODOWICH. *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 245. \$85.00.

This book by treats Renaissance Venice's outlawing of blasphemy, strong insult, and loose political talk. It also takes up the question of official attitudes toward the clever conversation of the city's up-market prostitutes. Obvious links between speech and government are at once apparent. The author's aims, however, reach beyond this linkage, for she sees a Venetian state that was "constructing a normative language" which was "a useful tool in the practice of statecraft" (pp. 10, 215).

The structure of the book has very clear lines that are set forth in the introduction. In it, Elizabeth Horodowich reflects on sociolinguistics, state formation, manuals of conduct, everyday speech, and her intended use of archival materials. Chapter one, "Defining the Art of Conversation," analyzes the materials on speech in three sixteenth-century primers of conduct: Baldassarre Castiglione's *Il cortegiano*, Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo ovvero De' Costumi*, and Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversazione*. None was a Venetian work, but because they were enormously popular in their day, the author feels justified in using them to underline the place of speech in behavior.

"Regulating Blasphemy," chapter two, deals with Venetian legislation against blasphemy; and though Horodowich knows that such laws originated in the late Middle Ages, she argues that early modern Venice drew on them to impose more conformity, especially among immigrants. While granting that her evidence is thin (pp. 72–73), and neither presenting nor analyzing any blasphemous expressions taken from trial records, she is confident enough to assert that, "Individuals wielded these [blasphemous] words in an attempt to change culture; the state, in turn, disciplined blasphemy to prevent them from doing so" (p. 58).

The third chapter, "Insults," demonstrates clearly that the laws concerning vile insult were directed overwhelmingly against commoners and simple folk who dared to vilify Venetian aristocrats. The honor of the aristocratic state was thus being defended.

Chapter four, "Conversation and Exchange: Networks of Gossip," a discursive treatment of the announced subject, strongly accents the play of gender. But the true link with statecraft is never shown, unless it lay in the laws directed against loose talk about state secrets. Such laws, however, were a commonplace in all the Italian city-states by about 1350.

In chapter five, "The Language of Courtesans," the author advances the notion that Venetian approval of courtesans somehow converted their conversational style into a tool of statecraft, because they won visiting dignitaries over to Venice's charms. Unfortunately, Horodowich is self-confessedly unable (p. 167) to cite examples of their actual words or conversation. The applicable evidence, all of it very generic and indirect, comes from a few of their local admirers. It is only at the end of this long chapter that we get two pages on "literary" material composed by a courtesan, but it comes from the letters of the celebrated poet, Veronica Franco, whose extraordinary verbal dexterity could not conceivably have typified the language of courtesans.

If the nature of Horodowich's archival sources had risen to her admirable ambitions, she would have a formidable study. As it is, on her own showing, action by Venetian magistracies in the managing of speech was all in negations. That is, their laws said: do not blaspheme, do not grossly insult others, do not gossip about sensitive political talk. But there was nothing in these injunctions that could be construed as the making of "a normative language" for "statecraft." All the art in matters of state here, if there was any, belonged to those who arrested, tried, and punished people for breaching the laws against blasphemy and *verba injuriosa*.

The author makes a point of wanting to angle her book in the European context of "statebuilding," and she often touches on the subject (e.g., pp. 24, 85, 89). Yet the great work of putting the Venetian state together was a late medieval achievement, complete by 1454. In the sixteenth century, with its constricting trade prospects and the full-court pressure of the Ottomans, what was there for Venice to build? Henceforth its greatest political efforts would be defensive holding operations.

Social magnates and political leaders to one side, individual reputation throughout urban Italy was based chiefly on the views of people in the local neighborhood; all cities tended, in their courts, to turn to the neighborhood for testimony in certain kinds of cases. Local gossip was thus imported into the courtroom. But it is hard to see how Venice utilized "conversation and gossip" in statecraft. Accordingly, like chapter five, chapter four is also a problem for the announced tapestry of the book. In this connection, I would add that the material in chapter one is rarely called upon to throw light on the succeeding chapters.

Although this is an intelligent and imaginative book, it founders in too many moments of exiguous evidence, theoretical assertion, and overreaching argument.

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AXEL KÖRNER. *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy: From Unification to Fascism*. (Routledge Studies in Modern European History, number 12.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. xxi, 427. \$110.00.

The title of Axel Körner's monograph misleads. It suggests that the book deals with the politics of culture in liberal Italy. In fact, the work considers particular aspects of high culture and certain "ancient" elites in the municipality of Bologna alone. For the most part, it follows the attempts of moderate grandees to establish civic continuities after fall of the papal regime in that city during unification.

This local study follows the transition from papal absolutism to moderate liberalism by looking at theater (the lyric in particular), architecture, and the cult of memory by way of museums. It surveys the opera wars between the sister cities of Parma, the hometown of Giuseppe Verdi, and Bologna, the nation's capital of Wagnerism after the Italian premiere of *Lohengrin* there in 1871. In 1913, when Parma feted the centenary of its favorite son, Bologna celebrated the centennial of Wagner. Körner explains that the Bolognese elites tried to exalt modernism and cosmopolitanism when they went with the German composer, who symbolized the barricades of the 1848 revolution in Dresden, rather than with Verdi, who styled himself as a man with rustic roots. Above and beyond ideological concerns and constructions that Körner cites, there existed commercial motives behind the decision to go against Verdi, who had an exclusive with the meddlesome Ricordi publishers.

Körner covers the early battles for control of the Teatro Comunale, which in the period of the papal legations fell under the dominion of the cardinals. After unification, the old nobility took the baton at the opera, for thirty-five of the forty privately-owned boxes belonged to the aristocracy (p. 57). The municipality sued the box owners over their annual contributions, among other things. In 1884, the city won on appeal and the decision removed "an important barrier against modernization" (p. 64).

Bologna's Deputazione di Storia Patria attempted in 1860 to craft a local historical narrative. Körner invokes Jacques Derrida's *mal d'archive* to describe the establishment in 1874 of the Archivio di Stato, which established Rome's authority over civic jurisdiction in classifying official documents of the former legations. "The State denied the patient its self-prescribed cure" when it did not indulge the town's "desire for memory"; this in turn made tense and tenuous the relationship between "the city and State" for "decades" (p. 99). The municipality got another chance to fashion an identity from the relics of the past with the inauguration in 1871 of the Museo Civico, which Rudolf Virchow attended. The museum merged with the university's collections seven years later and reopened in 1881 as one of the continent's most important historical exhibits. This was of great importance for a second city only twenty years after unification. But here too, the initiative escaped from the old-style, home-grown antiquarians. A new generation of anthropologists, many of them international figures in the field, dominated discourse about ancient and Italian ethnicities and civilizations.

The subtitle of the book indicates that all this has



something to do with fascism, and Körner makes the connection early on: Gabriele D'Annunzio, mourning Verdi in 1901, is weirdly described as a "proto-Fascist" on the very first page. Later in the text, we learn that the defense of Wagner by the poet and dramatist during the 1890s spoke to "mostly the advocates of an anti-egalitarian and authoritarian nationalism" (p. 239). The monograph "offers a new perspective on the origins of Fascism in Italy" (p. 5). Körner tells us, when recounting the 1920 storming of the town hall by squads in black shirts, "The fall of Bologna was followed by the collapse of all major democratically elected administrations in the region—well before the March on Rome, which represented the final step in the seizure of power, the Fascist assault on the state itself, and which marked the end of liberal democracy in Italy" (p. 18). As Adrian Lyttelton underscored more than thirty-five years ago in his authoritative work *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy 1919–1929* (1973), the subversion of the liberal regime began in 1921, climaxed in January 1925, over two years after the March on Rome, and concluded in 1928–1929.

Körner asks why the fascists picked Bologna to stage their first upset of local democratic governance: Anthony Cardoza, in his superb study *Agrarian Elites and Italian Fascism: The Province of Bologna, 1901–1926* (1982), makes the case that Bolognese farmers choose fascism first, even though Mussolini initially looked the other way. Changes in the old guard during World War I altered the elite configuration of both town and country in the Po valley, and a new brand of commercial, middle-class growers aimed to end the ascendancy of the maximalist left in municipal politics once and for all. The answer has all to do with the vitality of socialist culture in the *città rossa*, a subject cursorily considered in Körner's conclusion.

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MICHAEL PHAYER. *Pius XII, the Holocaust, and the Cold War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 333. \$29.95.

Following closely on *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965* (2000), Michael Phayer sets out in his new volume to take advantage of relevant U.S. Department of State and intelligence archives recently made available at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) to add new details to this historical chapter. In doing so he does not shy away from introducing his own moral judgments. Pope Pius XI, for example, is said to have "flip-flopped spinelessly" in 1935 in dealing with Italian aggression in Ethiopia (p. 5).

Phayer's treatment of Pope Pius XII's "silence" during the Holocaust is harsher than the pope's defenders would like, but at times it borders on a defense nonetheless. He argues that the pope felt boxed into a corner by not having protested the massive persecution of the Polish Church in 1942 for fear of alienating and anger-

ing Adolf Hitler, and so could hardly later speak out specifically against the genocide of the Jews. He makes much (too much, in this reviewer's opinion) of the pope's Christmas message of 1942, in which Pius XII generically lamented the death of hundreds of thousands of innocents due to their nationality or race. According to Phayer, this settles the question: "Pius XII did not keep silent" (p. 64). Yet in this address the pope neither indicated who was guilty of causing these deaths nor clarified who the victims were.

The first part of the book, dealing with the Holocaust and the Vatican, does not add much to what has been published on the topic. The second part, on the Vatican's role in the Cold War, and especially its role in facilitating the escape of war criminals, is more revealing, largely because of the value of the NARA files. Phayer tells the story of a pope, and a church, more interested in using fascists or former fascists to fight communism than in bringing any of those guilty of genocide to justice. In this sense Phayer's argument is of a piece with his view of Pius XII's wartime reluctance to do anything that might undermine the power of Germany, which he saw as a bulwark against the Soviet Union.

Among those whose efforts receive the greatest attention in these pages is Austrian Bishop Alois Hudal, who was given responsibility under the Pontifical Commission of Assistance for dealing with Austrian refugees. Hudal played a key role in hiding such Nazi perpetrators as Adolf Eichmann, Josef Mengele, and Klaus Barbie and arranging their escape to Argentina. Phayer also examines in detail Pius XII's backing of Croatian leader Ante Pavelić and other Ustaša war criminals. Pavelić, committed to establishing a fascist Catholic Croatian state, had received the pope's blessing during the war. Then, after hiding in Rome, he escaped to Argentina thanks to the Vatican's ratline, despite his responsibility for the murder of King Alexander II of Yugoslavia before the war, and the murder of hundreds of thousands during the war. All this Phayer attributes to the absolute priority that Pius XII gave to the fight against communism.

For a book on the Vatican, there are a number of errors in dealing with the church and Italian history. Phayer writes that Wladimir Ledóchowski (whose name Phayer spells "Ledokowsky"), Jesuit superior general, was "called 'the black pope' because of his influence" (p. 49). But this title had long been given informally to the Jesuit superior general and had nothing to do with Ledóchowski's influence. Phayer characterizes Eugenio Pacelli (later Pius XII) as "one of the main architects of the concordats, first as nuncio to Germany, then as the cardinal secretary of state when he concluded the all-important Lateran Treaty with Italy in 1929" (p. 52). But Pacelli only became secretary of state in 1930; it was his predecessor who negotiated the Lateran Treaty. By the time Hitler had come to power and the German concordat was negotiated in 1933, Pacelli had long since ceased to be the nuncio to Germany. Phayer identifies fascist firebrand Roberto Farinacci as "Italian minister

of state" in 1942. There was no such position, but if he is referring to the minister of foreign affairs it was not Farinacci but Benito Mussolini's son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano. Of less consequence are some Italian misspellings, most notably of the important Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica* (spelled in the text [p. 114] and in the index as *Civilta Catholica*).

The issues that Phayer confronts in this book continue to be the subject of much heated public debate. The new material that Phayer has brought to light from the National Archives offers a useful contribution to our understanding of the controversial relationship between the Vatican and the perpetrators of the Holocaust, especially in the postwar period.

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IAIN CHAMBERS. *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. 181. \$21.95.

This book is resolutely a project in postcolonial and cultural studies. It is not accessible to the unconvinced, and it is an easy book for historians to mock. Anyone interested in fathoming the divide between "history" and "cultural" studies recently aired in this journal by Geoff Eley and his commentators should read Iain Chambers's book. His critique of the standard story of progress and modernity reduces history to a species of "antiquarian rigor" with a tin ear to the porous and incoherent silences of "reality." For example, "It is precisely in reworking the historical archive in all its cultural complexities and details that further prospects have to be promoted in order to evade a colonization which, seeking to control memory, puts its claims on life yet to come" (p. 5). Or, "While the inventory of 'facts' and 'documents' apparently establishes the historical archive, it is the more unstable language of interpretation that sustains them" (p. 91). Jacques Derrida is the model here for an interest in archives. The quotations are a fair witness to the author's prose. Language is indeed unstable, and reason becomes a straightjacket.

A frame of political opinions surrounds this book, and at times it is distracting. Silvio Berlusconi may be an example of "the politics of interrupted modernity," but this possibility needs to be explained, or ignored. Any references to the World Trade Center in a book ostensibly about the Mediterranean should be meaningful. Modern Israel comes in for some harsh comments (p. 63). Feminism and Islam are not equivalent theoretical stances toward wearing a veil or not. Nevertheless, every book contains something for which a reader should be grateful. On surer grounds, Chambers sees in Napoleon Bonaparte's project the beginnings of Occidentalism, an important theme in this book. Occidentalism is the intellectual partner of Orientalism, but not fortunate enough to have Edward Said as its theorist, it can resemble Walter Benjamin for novices. Occidentalism in Chambers's account becomes the

nineteenth-century invention of "the Mediterranean" as a place where the Spanish, French, and Italians imposed their version of a fundamentalist occidental humanism that colonized the seashore's other inhabitants. Deconstructing this modern European version of the Mediterranean is the book's main goal.

Chambers sees the Mediterranean from where he lives, Naples, and this is an interesting and valuable vantage point. He spots some big trends, the most important being postcolonial Europe's encounter with waves of immigrants from its southern and eastern shores. These new peoples, including in Naples workers from Cape Verde, Somalia, and the Philippines, have produced a new postcolonial city where Arabic and Chinese can also be heard on the streets. Here, and elsewhere, these cultural encounters have produced new styles of music and poetry, about which Chambers is especially insightful and well informed. Immigrants are a very old part of the Mediterranean's history. The sea has been for centuries part of a global encounter stretching across the Silk Road to the east and the gold and slave trade to the south through and around the Sahara.

Chambers has a genuine fondness for Naples and its contributions, for good or ill, to the wider world. Naples remains identified with its lavishly complex Nativity scenes, the *presepi*, and its durable criminality enshrined in the *Camorra*. This great city is rooted in a Baroque past, with more than its share of crumbling buildings and perhaps the fewest number of parks in the "First World." It is certainly the case that the scholarly literature on Naples, in English, Italian, or any language, is the thinnest for all the Mediterranean's great cities. Chambers has much to say about the city's two most influential writers, Giambattista Vico and Benedetto Croce. Antonio Gramsci, from Sardinia, becomes a kind of honorary Neapolitan whose views on hegemony and colonialism seem ready-made for cultural studies. Chambers admires Vico and has some important insights to offer. Croce's ideas on aesthetics and progress do not receive Chambers's approval or get as much space as Vico.

Chambers rightly emphasizes that modern nationalism and postcolonialism have complicated scholarly efforts to study the Mediterranean and its peoples old and new. Fernand Braudel's classic work *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1966) on the context of the battle of Lepanto receives favorable notice from Chambers, because this synthesis is so remote from present concerns. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, in *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), were mainly concerned with the pre-industrial Mediterranean, a global region marked by micro-regions and micro-climates. Their focus was resolutely on history in the Mediterranean. Chambers, apart from writing about a Naples where the "rubbish is collected each and every night" (p. 73), sees the Mediterranean as primarily a cultural rather than an ecological zone. Modern

creole cultures in the Mediterranean may be better off undertheorized.

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TARA ZAHRA. *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 279. \$39.95.

It has been some forty years since Miroslav Hroch first published his three-stage paradigm of nation-forming processes in small nations. During that time, historians have variously analyzed the nationalizing activities of intellectual elites (stage A), bourgeois activists (stage B), and the popular masses (stage C). Until now, however, the role of children and the family in shaping and transmitting national messages has not been the focus of close scholarly attention. Tara Zahra fills this lacuna by masterfully marrying two separate spheres of historical inquiry: family history and nationalism studies. She constructs her narrative around the irony of “national indifference” in the Bohemian Lands during the first half of the twentieth century. Whereas in late imperial Habsburg Bohemia, parents commonly sent their children on year-long exchanges with Czech or German-speaking families so that they could gain the linguistic tools to operate in a multiethnic environment, a half century later, as Sudetenland was being reabsorbed into the Czechoslovak state, Czech speakers were responsible for one of the most violent episodes of forced expulsion. This sharpening ethnic tension is the central nexus of Zahra’s study. She follows activists from both sides of the Czech-German language frontier as they seek to erase “wobbly” national commitment through the strategic use of schools, summer camps, orphanages, and other child welfare agencies. In so doing, she expands the purview of nationalism studies into new and revealing areas of inquiry.

Besides refocusing the study of nationalism, Zahra has crafted a rare examination of the rise of the welfare state in Eastern Europe, an ironically understudied subfield in a region long characterized by large centralizing states. She highlights the gradual increase in state control over traditionally private childrearing functions, beginning with the Moravian Compromise of 1905 when local officials were empowered to assign children to a single national category for the purposes of school attendance, a ruling that transferred decision-making power from parents to the state. In contrast to most analyses of the waning years of the Habsburg imperium, Zahra sees the Austro-Hungarian state as supporting rather than resisting nationalist activists in its efforts to establish networks of private, nationally segregated institutions for child welfare on the eve of World War I. This new perspective allows Zahra to revise longstanding views of the relationship among nationalism, democratic political movements, and the welfare state. In interwar Czechoslovakia, census takers were authorized to “correct” nationality choices and

school boards could force children of indeterminate national affiliation to attend Czech schools. Zahra challenges established scholarship in viewing the increasingly coercive state-sponsored schemes to reclassify, purge, denounce, or expel minority ethnic groups as reflecting ambiguity rather than sharpening national loyalties. Because new East European nation-states made social and political rights dependent on national belonging rather than on individual rights, they were able to pursue their nationalizing agendas in the name of democratic values.

The periodization of this book effectively disengages the usual categories of analysis in East European historiography by blending four regimes and two world wars into a single chronological unit and allowing events on the ground to define the study’s parameters. The book’s rare comprehensive examination of nationality conflicts over a broad span of time helps introduce fresh interpretations of flashpoints in Bohemian history. Zahra’s coverage highlights the disappointment many Sudeten German parents experienced as their Nazi allies focused increasingly on the war effort and failed to Germanize social services adequately. She concludes with a reassessment of the motives behind the harshness of postwar Czech expulsions of Germans living in the Sudeten area, arguing that Sudeten German ethnic identity may have been less exclusive and Sudeten loyalty to National Socialist benefactors more tepid than postwar Czech national mythology has maintained.

Zahra’s work draws on borderland studies to characterize the uneven, indeterminate process by which ethnic identification was shaped in small nations. In so doing, it contributes to scholarly debate about essentialized national sentiment in areas of complex settlement. Yet, partly because of her focus on the state and the family, Zahra’s nationalist activists remain somewhat disembodied. With rare exceptions we gain little sense for the identity or motives of the activists behind the national classification process she describes. At the same time, Zahra treats the children in her study mainly as objects of manipulation who were acted upon, rather than as independent agents. It would be interesting to hear more from the perspective of the children themselves, a view that would further enrich the field of family history. Finally, a fascinating and underdeveloped component of Zahra’s story is the position Jews played in firming up national affiliations in mixed regions such as Bohemia. Overall, this innovative, thoroughly researched, comprehensive study breaks with traditional scholarship in important respects and poses fresh new historical questions. It is sure to be mined by a generation of readers for its rich contextualization and thoughtful analyses.

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ALISON K. SMITH. *Recipes for Russia: Food and Nationhood under the Tsars*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 259. \$40.00.

This book examines primarily expert debates about food production and consumption in the period from 1750 through 1861. While providing some information about recipes, crop diversity, and such matters, Alison K. Smith is most concerned with discussion in the public forum of agricultural production and national strength, on the one hand, and of health, culture, and national identity, on the other. These themes recur throughout the six chapters, which deal with the state's involvement in ensuring sustenance, medical literature on food, attempts to define a Russian cuisine, estate and kitchen management, scientific agriculture, and cookbooks and cookbook authors. Smith argues that experts began to engage with these topics in the mid-eighteenth century, before which "tradition" reigned, and illustrates the kinds of claims each group of specialists made. She sees the various arbiters of knowledge about food as effectively demolishing the power of "tradition" by the mid-nineteenth century but as unable to create a new consensus about food in Russia. The book's examination of debates about both production and consumption allows a new depth of understanding of food in Russia, a topic that has not received a great deal of attention from scholars to date. Smith trains her lens across social levels, and this, together with her attention to gender, is one of the book's strengths. This study expands our knowledge of food as part of the ongoing definition, in the century under discussion, of what was Russian, and of what Russia's place in Europe and the world should be.

The book is strong in its discussion of Russian attention to Western analyses and influences, but its brevity does not allow the author to examine sufficiently the ways in which food fit into contemporary debates about Russian politics, society, and economics more broadly. Moreover, at several points she relies on data only from the provinces of Kostroma and Kazan' in building both qualitative and quantitative arguments. This attention to local specificity is laudable, but Smith explains neither why she has chosen these two locations nor the strengths and drawbacks of having done so. A more general weakness lies in the fact that many topics that relate to ongoing historical inquiry are introduced but without adequate theorizing: for example, the place of the nobility in the Russian political system, the nature of the Russian state, and the nature of reform and the effects of serfdom. Although these topics arise directly from the experts Smith examines, and although she does an excellent job of teasing out the ways in which those experts variously defined, for example, the duties of a landlord to his serfs with regard to grain storage, she does not connect such opinions to larger currents in Russian history. This limits the strength of her arguments, which could contribute more energetically to the lively discussions in the field about the meaning of the Russian empire, rural society before the Great Reforms, and Russia's social structure. Even if only in the footnotes, such analysis would bring a broader audience to the book. Another factor limiting the usefulness of the work for non-specialists is that, in her examination

of many topics such as serfdom, the three-field system, and various forms of peasant servitude, Smith does not provide background information or explanations for an audience that might not be familiar with Russian conditions.

Numerous smaller matters muddle the reader at times. For example, under the bibliographic entry for a work by Reginald E. Zelnik, appears a discussion of a book by Catriona Kelly (p. 254)—surely Kelly should appear under her own name in the bibliography? Perhaps this is a footnote that has gone astray. Translations also appear to need some work. For example, the sentence, "Other garden vegetables can be found at only a few peasants, as gardening is little developed" (p. 82) appears to contain a direct translation of the Russian possessive "u". The title of the journal edited by the Russian agriculturalist A. T. Bolotov appears both as *Economic Store* (pp. 108, 110) and *Economic Magazine* (p. 102). It is also unclear why, in the bibliography of primary materials, "[a]rticles cited only once are excluded" (p. 237).

Overall, however, this book contains a good introduction to the topic of food in debates about Russian national power and culture, with fascinating details, such as variations in the diets for wounded officers and enlisted men during religious fasts and the description of the frozen meat market in St. Petersburg. The author deals well with the question of the contested nature of "Russian" food, but she does not go far enough in examining the larger debates of which the concern with food made up a part.

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HÉLÈNE CARRÈRE D'ENCAUSSE. *Alexandre II: Le printemps de la Russie*. Paris: Fayard. 2008. Pp. 522. €26.00.

This is the twenty-third book produced by H             since 1963. Almost all are histories of Russia during the imperial and Soviet periods. The present volume portrays Alexander II (1855–1881) as Russia's greatest reformer of the nineteenth century, architect of its first perestroika. D'Encausse's evocation of the term associated with Mikhail Gorbachev a century later is purposeful and perhaps facile.

Chapter one offers a general background that points to Russia's underlying weaknesses, despite the country's powerful outward presence. Chapter two treats Alexander's youth and adolescence, confirming that he spent much of this time in the shadow of his formidable father, Nicholas I, whom he admired and feared. The chief legacy for the young heir—reinforced even by the "liberal" tutor Mikhail Speranskii—was the unlimited and sacred autocratic power of the tsar-emperor. Chapter three discusses culture and literature at mid-century. In this chapter, d'Encausse provides a familiar picture of the extremist tendencies of the Russian intelligentsia; her best portraits are of Alexander Herzen and especially Mikhail Bakunin.

Chapter four is about the abolition of serfdom. Here



d'Encausse gives too much credit to the tsar's younger brother, Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich. In my view, the roles of Iakov Rostovtsev and Viktor Panin were more important, but in any case it was always Alexander who had the final say. Chapter five deals sympathetically with the Polish Insurrection of 1863, tracing its origins back to the partitions of Poland under Catherine II. Chapter six describes the "Russian spring" of the 1860s, the period of *glasnost* (again, *pace* Gorbachev) and florescence in both state and society. The formula of reform from above to mitigate trouble from below appeared, briefly, to be working.

Chapter seven highlights Alexander II's foreign policy. D'Encausse repeats the traditional interpretation that the emperor and his foreign minister, Alexander Gorchakov, avoided conflicts with the other great powers of Europe as much as possible in order to concentrate on domestic reforms (which, in addition to the abolition of serfdom, included reforms of the judiciary, education, rural and municipal government, and the military). To be sure, Gorchakov's "turning inward" did not prevent a considerable Russian expansion into Central Asia. Chapter eight focuses on family matters, including the tragic sudden death of the young heir, Nikolai Alexandrovich. Chapters nine and ten resume the foreign policy narrative, culminating with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, and chapter eleven traces the further radicalization of the Russian intelligentsia. Chapter twelve follows the transition of the society "Land and Freedom" into the terrorist organization "the People's Will." Chapter thirteen describes the growing polarization taking place in late nineteenth-century Russian society even as Alexander was considering new reforms, notably the so-called Loris-Melikov Constitution in 1880–1881.

The author's discussion is imprecise in places, notably with regard to her descriptions of Nikolai Chernyshevskii and Nikolai Dobroliubov, whom she incorrectly refers to as nihilists, a term that applies more to Dimitrii Pisarev. D'Encausse's tendency to see events and personalities from the perspective of her own time and place is evident in her overemphasis on such lesser figures as Sergei Nechaev and Petr Tkachev (who is described as "the spiritual father of Lenin" on page 364). D'Encausse argues that Alexander II's reign was the most tragic in the history of Russia because the "tsar-liberator" was so well intentioned and achieved so much yet still died at the hands of assassins. Her comparisons of Alexander II with his namesake Alexander I and with his grandson Nicholas II are not convincing, and it is also not clear on what grounds she concludes that "[Alexander II] was not preoccupied with maintaining his personal power" (p. 461).

The book is a solid, informed, narrative account of the reign of Alexander II. It does not, however, break new ground in scholarship or interpretation. Moreover, the system of citations and the relatively skimpy bibliography are unsatisfactory. Even direct quotations, of which there are many, are not footnoted; the reader is left to guess the precise source on the basis of the list

of references for each chapter provided at the end of the volume.

The author makes good use of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) and of select Russian and French secondary sources. But there are striking lacunae. The works of Dobroliubov and Chernyshevskii (who, unlike Herzen and Bakunin, were in Russia rather than abroad during Alexander's reign), as well as their biographies, are ignored. Similarly absent are fundamental items of early Soviet-era scholarship, such as Alexander Presniakov's 1923 article, "Samoderzhavie Aleksandra II-ogo," published in the journal *Russkoe proshloe*. The selection of English-language materials is scant and arbitrary; only one biography is cited. Some minor studies are included while classic monographs, such as Terence Emmons's *The Russian Landed Gentry and the Peasant Emancipation of 1861* (1968) and Alfred J. Rieber's *The Politics of Autocracy* (1966), are left out. The overall impression is one of incompleteness and generality.

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EMILY D. JOHNSON. *How St. Petersburg Learned to Study Itself: The Russian Idea of Kraevedenie*. (Studies of the Harriman Institute: Selected Titles in Russian Literature and History.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 303. \$55.00.

In the preface to her new book, Emily D. Johnson describes how, in the early 1990s, while working as a translator, interpreter, and occasional tour guide in St. Petersburg, she became fascinated with the wave of old guidebooks, reprinted by Russian publishers, that were turning up in bookshops and street stands throughout the city. That initial interest broadened into a dissertation and now a monograph focusing on the emergence and evolution of *kraevedenie* (local or regional studies) as an "identity discipline" with a theoretical center in St. Petersburg. Johnson's stated purpose in the work is to "trace the history of *kraevedenie*, looking both at how meanings of the term have changed over time and at the role that Petersburg-based scholars and institutions played in the evolution of the discipline." Further, she sets out to "examine the way in which experts in local studies have traditionally understood and used guidebooks, consider the significance of *kraevedenie* within Russian society today, and draw . . . comparisons between this field of inquiry and other Russian and Western knowledge systems" (p. xii).

Johnson deals with these larger issues almost exclusively in the book's introduction and conclusion. The introduction defines *kraevedenie* as a way of knowing and compares it with the German *Heimatkunde* (homeland studies). She then goes on to argue that *kraevedenie* is best understood as an "identity discipline," one that, like gender, ethnic, and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) studies, "combines a certain amount of external structure with substantial internal diversity; in which scholars tend to identify strongly

with the subject they study; and where the pursuit of knowledge can easily merge with political and social activism" (p. 6). She asserts that the St. Petersburg school of *kraevedenie* deserves special attention because it was influential rather than typical. Further, she contends that Russians today connect with *kraevedenie* because of the discipline's martyred past (some of its major practitioners were brutally purged in the late 1920s and early 1930s) and "its countercultural self-conception in the 'post-Stalin years'" (p. 8).

Given Johnson's own disciplinary perspective, it is unsurprising that she aims to demonstrate that *kraevedenie* was essentially a literary discipline, emerging from the confluence of three St. Petersburg-based cultural movements whose theorists and practitioners "shared interest in a class of descriptive texts known commonly as *putevoditeli*," or guidebooks (p. 12). Johnson devotes much of the book to analyzing this literary genre. Her opening chapter considers early topographic descriptions of St. Petersburg in eighteenth and nineteenth-century travel writing and guidebooks. She then moves quickly to the early twentieth century, using two chapters to discuss the historical preservation movement associated with Alexander Benois and the much-studied World of Art (*Mir Iskusstva*) crowd. Chapters four and five describe the pedagogical excursion movement in the late imperial and early Soviet periods, focusing heavily on the works and influence of Nikolai Antsiferov and Ivan Grevs. Chapter six considers the development in the 1920s of a network of local studies organizations that began to develop under the auspices of the Academy of Science's Central Bureau of *Kraevedenie*. It then goes on to describe the purge of the Leningrad branch (part of the broader academic purge of 1929–1931), which included the arrest and imprisonment of Antsiferov, Grevs, and others, and the devastating impact of that purge on the discipline. Johnson moves on to the post-Stalin re-emergence of *kraevedenie* in Leningrad, locating the discipline as a site for some of the city's scholars to express an ethically uncompromised identity. The final chapter focuses explicitly on literary *kraevedenie*, highlighting once again the influence of works by Antsiferov as well as those by Erikh Gollerback and Andrei Iatsevich as models for later writers in the discipline.

This book is at its best when it develops *kraevedenie's* literary and intellectual connections with earlier cultural movements. Johnson's analysis of the discipline's key early-twentieth-century texts is particularly strong and should appeal to literary scholars. But historians with broader interests in urban experience may not find Johnson's study fully satisfying, precisely because it puts so much emphasis on the discipline's "founding fathers" at the expense of its rank-and-file practitioners. Further, once Johnson moves into the post-Stalin period, she sets forward conclusions that are not always adequately supported. For instance, one of Johnson's most provocative claims is that post-thaw *kraevedy* used the discipline as a means to assert a countercultural oppositional identity. Although this is a fascinating claim,

Johnson provides little evidence to back it up. Finally, the vibrancy of Petersburg itself as a lived city is somewhat lost in Johnson's narrative. The problem is compounded by the fact that the wonderful illustrations Johnson chose appear in cramped form. A separate section that could have accommodated larger reproductions would have helped the reader see the city as Johnson's subjects thought it should be seen.

ROSHANNA P. SYLVESTER  
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ERIK C. LANDIS. *Bandits and Partisans: The Antonov Movement in the Russian Civil War*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 381. \$50.00.

The *Antonovshchina*, a low-level, peasant-based insurgency in the Russian province of Tambov that lasted from mid-1920 to mid-1921 has widely been seen as evidence of broad-based peasant opposition to the new rulers of Russia. In his thoroughly researched study, Erik C. Landis shows how, rather than a visceral anti-Bolshevism, what underlay the insurgency and the support it gained in the villages was opposition to specific policies of the new regime, especially those relating to mobilization into the Red Army and food requisitioning. It was the peasantry's experience of and opposition to these policies, added to the generally disruptive conditions of the civil war, that created the basis for what was one of the most serious rural insurgencies at this time. Landis's comprehensive discussion of these policies and the peasant response to them is a much more convincing explanation than one which relies on broad generalizations about peasant opposition to Bolshevik rule. Landis's book will be the definitive study of the Antonov episode. Based on wide reading in the archives and an impressive range of other primary and secondary literature, Landis has produced the most rounded account we are likely to get. But the account is limited by the nature of the sources. While there is ample material on the state of local government and the sorts of measures that were taken to counter the insurgency, the material on the Antonov movement itself is sparser. Relying on materials gained from interrogations of captured insurgents, reports from observers, and the views of government figures, Landis does a good job of reconstructing the outlines of the movement, its organization, and its relation to the populace. However, he is unable to portray the real dynamics of the movement, to show us how it worked in practice, or to discuss subjects such as the nature of relations between leading insurgent figures. Nor is it easy to get from this study an accurate picture of what the insurgents actually did and when and how they did it. In this sense, the book is more about the conditions that gave rise to the movement and how it was suppressed than about the movement itself.

But if this book is less thorough than we might have hoped on the details of the movement, it is much more robust in its discussion of the problems of local admin-

istration. Indeed, the book provides an excellent case study of the difficulties the Bolsheviks had in extending their power into the countryside in a stable way. The conflicts among institutions (the party, soviets, revolutionary committees, and the Red Army), the tensions between “natives” and “outsiders,” the fragile links between the new organs of administration and the populace at large, the weakness of effective administrative procedures and routines, and the gap in both information and understanding that hid the reality of the local situation from governmental leaders in Moscow are all well brought out in Landis’s analysis and contributed mightily to the local administration’s inability to suppress easily the insurgency. The keys to victory over Antonov were not only the injection of more troops and changes in military strategy following the appointment of Mikhail Tukhachevsky and modifications of current policies, especially on food requisitioning, but also the restructuring and centralization of civilian administration brought about by Vladimir Antonov-Ovseenko and the concentration of military power in the hands of Tukhachevsky. Only by setting aside the emergent governing structures and introducing extraordinary measures could the insurgency be suppressed. While the account ends with the suppression of the Antonov movement, and so we do not see how the civilian organs of administration were reconstituted, the book provides a graphic illustration of how weak state organs were at this time. It therefore contributes not only to the literature on peasant-based insurrection but to the scholarship on state-building both as it applies to the Soviet case and more generally.

In sum, this is an excellent book that provides the fullest analysis of the Antonov movement and its suppression, and it makes a major contribution to our understanding of the creation of state institutions in a time of revolutionary instability.

GRAEME GILL  
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J. ARCH GETTY and OLEG V. NAUMOV. *Yezhov: The Rise of Stalin's "Iron Fist."* Assisted by NADEZHDA V. MURAVEVA. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xxv, 283. \$35.00.

This biography of Joseph Stalin’s main assistant in organizing the Great Terror in the Soviet Union in 1937 and 1938 is a fascinating book. It will interest anyone who seeks to understand one of the most sordid chapters of twentieth-century mass murder. As with all of the recent work written by J. Arch Getty, it is based on a vast exploration of the archival evidence, albeit in this case primarily from one collection, in which Getty received crucial aid from his co-author, Oleg V. Naumov, who is the deputy director of this most important depository of Soviet-era documents in Moscow. Different from Marc Jansen and Nikita V. Petrov’s biography of Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov (1895–1940), *Stalin's Loyal Executioner* (2002), Getty and Naumov have used few documents from the former Soviet secret police ar-

chive, perhaps because in recent times access to that archive has been severely restricted by the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB). This lack of access may have informed the authors’ decision to depict the career of Ezhov primarily until his appointment as chief of the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in September 1936 and to discuss only briefly his actions as the key organizer of the Great Terror thereafter (or his fate after his fall from grace in 1938). One cannot, of course, leave out the period during which Ezhov, as Soviet security boss, acquired the notoriety for which he is remembered today, nor indeed do the authors entirely omit this part of his career. Their first chapter (pp. 1–13) briefly outlines the low points of the bloodbath that Ezhov coordinated, which saw 700,000 people executed in a mere two years and about one percent of the Soviet population incarcerated over the same period. And throughout the book the authors refer to Ezhov’s later role as the organizer of the Great Terror.

We are treated to some real finds in this book, such as the script developed by Ezhov (apparently on his own initiative) which explained how once faithful Bolsheviks could become terrorists and counterrevolutionaries by the 1930s (pp. 154, 165, 212). Equally fascinating is the existence of another script written by the “oppositionist” G. E. Zinoviev (1883–1936) in jail, proposing a similarly fictive grandiose anti-Soviet conspiracy (pp. 191–192). Apparently, Zinoviev’s logic came eerily close to the mindset exposed by Rubashov in Arthur Koestler’s fictional *Darkness at Noon* (1941). Of course, despite some indication that anti-Stalinist plotting may not have been entirely a product of the paranoid imagination of Ezhov or Stalin, as Getty and Naumov point out, no former opponent of Stalin during the 1920s ever attempted to overthrow the USSR’s Communist Party regime during the 1930s.

Getty and Naumov convincingly argue how, until the moment of his appointment as NKVD Commissar, Ezhov was a typical member of the Stalinist leadership, far from the “monstrous dwarf” of later depictions. Before 1936, Ezhov was in most respects no more than a dedicated adherent of Soviet ideology, a leader whose character had been shaped by the brutal history of imperial Russia, the 1917 Revolution, the civil war, and collectivization. In the Great Terror, the logic of “who is not for us, must be against us” was brought to its merciless conclusion by him, when the growing fear of war in particular spawned a witchhunt that targeted potential rather than real foes. Working relentlessly, as he had always done, Ezhov fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan in 1937 and 1938 as if he were running the People’s Commissariat of Heavy Industry.

Ezhov’s capacity for work had always distinguished him, as Getty and Naumov show; it combined with his immaculate working-class credentials and unfaltering loyalty to Stalin’s policies to aid his meteoric rise in the Communist Party’s ranks since his days as a low-level party organizer and minor provincial boss during the revolution and civil war. Of course, Ezhov also had a sharp political instinct and learned how to make the

system work to his advantage, expressing himself in the proper "Bolshevik" language in order to further his career. All of this is outlined convincingly by the authors. Still, toward the end of the book, which sketches the period during which Ezhov waged a campaign against G. G. Iagoda (1891–1938) that was to culminate in Ezhov's replacing this secret police chief in 1936, "Stalin's Iron Fist" seems to become seriously unhinged, and the system's logic alone cannot quite explain the bloodthirst he exposed during the Great Terror. Getty and Naumov rightfully argue that Ezhov was more than a mere cipher (p. xix), but the reader remains unsure what exactly led him proudly to show Khrushchev bloodstains on his uniform from some of his victims (p. 6). Perhaps the experience of working under Stalin's ruthless rule (following the Leninist ethics of ends justifying any means) eventually stripped not just Ezhov, but also L. P. Beria, K. E. Voroshilov, L. M. Kaganovich, V. M. Molotov, and A. A. Zhdanov of their elementary humanity. Even if Jansen and Petrov may have believed rather too easily that Ezhov confessed to real rather than "imaginary crimes" (pp. 12, 229 n. 38) under torture after his arrest, their portrayal of someone who showed an insane lust for blood during his tenure as NKVD Commissar remains compelling, and their book should be read together with the one under review to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the man and his era.

KEES BOTERBLOEM  
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LILYA KAGANOVSKY. *How the Soviet Man Was Unmade: Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity under Stalin*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 226. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.95.

Since the Soviet Union dissolved in the early 1990s, the study of Stalinism has experienced a boom in both Russia and the West. The opening of archives and waning of the Cold War have brought about a more nuanced picture of the myriad forces that constituted totalitarian culture in the Soviet Union, and scholars have applied an increasingly diverse body of theory to understand history and culture under Stalin. This work continues this process by examining, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the narrative of manly heroism promoted in Stalinist fiction. Although others have explored psychological aspects of Stalinist culture, including the psychology of Joseph Stalin himself, Lilya Kaganovsky's book represents the first systematic and convincing application of psychoanalytic theory to Stalinism's dominant mode of artistic production, socialist realism.

The author's application of Freudian and Lacanian concepts to Stalinist fiction and film provides a fresh view of the socialist realist canon and allows her to explain a striking paradox in the era's art. While Stalinist visual culture propagated square-jawed, muscle-bound Soviet supermen, novels and movies from the same time often featured wounded, disabled, amputated,

blind, and even paralyzed heroes, whose virility was, at best, entirely depleted. Kaganovsky argues that these extremes of extravagant virility and bodily mutilation are not at odds with one another; rather, "the two forms of masculinity exist together . . . together they create the ideal Stalinist man: hyperbolically strong, yet without arms or legs; committed to the cause, yet permanently chained to his bed; visionary, yet blind" (p. 4). She supports this thesis, laid out in chapter one, through an astute reading of Nikolai Ostrovskii's seminal *How the Steel Was Tempered* (1937) in chapter two. Much like the novel's author, its hero Pavka Korchagin ascends to the heights of socialist heroism only as his body descends through self-sacrifice, self-discipline, and self-denial to become a "living mummy" (p. 12) with only one functioning eye and a single mobile limb. Kaganovsky vividly demonstrates how the battle fought in Korchagin's body constitutes him as "the perfect self-sacrificing subject" (p. 36) to whom, however, "full Stalinist subjectivity remains forever foreclosed" (p. 41).

The book's remaining chapters extend Kaganovsky's analysis to include sexual difference in her theoretical paradigm and cinema among the materials she examines. Providing a close reading of Ivan Pyr'ev's notorious 1936 film *The Party Card*, chapter three explores the ways in which Stalinist film displaces the threat of male lack onto women, thereby describing an unbridgeable gap "between the Stalinist subject and Stalinist subjectivity" (p. 66). Chapter four examines several movies from the 1930s and 1940s, which depict "a holy male union" (p. 105), uncovering the ways in which "the socialist realist text inadvertently produces desire at the site of male bonding [and] creates what might be called, in a reworking of Eve Sedgwick's paradigm, 'heterosexual panic'" (p. 71). The shift in Sedgwick's model allows Kaganovsky not only to explain the marked manliness of many socialist realist heroines, but also to argue persuasively for the feminization of Stalinist subjectivity as a whole. The book's fifth chapter treats Boris Polevoi's book *A Story about a Real Man* (1947) and Mikhail Chiaureli's film *The Fall of Berlin* (1949) to elaborate the concept of the Stalinist abject, while the final chapter explores the post-Soviet fate of Stalinism's gender-bending subjectivity in Sergei Livnev's film *Hammer and Sickle* (1994). In her study, Kaganovsky articulates a dominant fiction of Stalinism in which emasculation, feminization, and lack placed the male subject in perpetual thrall to "Stalin as the embodiment of history" (p. 153).

Kaganovsky's application of a wide body of theory draws on several generations of psychoanalytic criticism, and her creative and often inspired interpretations of socialist realist texts demonstrate the effectiveness of harnessing Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault, Slavoj Žižek, Judith Butler, Sedgwick, and others in a single yoke. Although she allows that her "theoretical approach might give pause to some scholars of Slavic studies" (p. 14), her book confirms not only the value of psychoanalysis for understanding the Stalin era, but also the ways in which Stalinism al-



ters psychoanalytic paradigms as initially articulated in the study of Western European or American culture. Kaganovsky's study is indeed a "game opening" (p. 17) that invites scholars to examine Stalinism in a new and different way. Further investigation of the full spectrum of narrative, visual, and material culture of the Stalin era will round out the psychoanalytic paradigm Kaganovsky bravely offers in the book, as will extension of her argument into later periods of Soviet and Russian culture, which continues to experience a crisis of masculinity. Much as Katerina Clark's *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (1981) revealed the structural complexity of socialist realism, Kaganovsky's work has the potential to open scholars' eyes to the psychological complexity of Stalinist culture and its aftermath.

JULIE A. CASSIDAY  
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STEPHEN V. BITTNER. *The Many Lives of Khrushchev's Thaw: Experience and Memory in Moscow's Arbat*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 235. \$39.95.

In the growing industry of Khrushchev-era studies, this book stands out as original, engaging, and solidly grounded in sources—many of them new archival findings. The author builds his story of the thaw around the lives, institutions, ideas, and struggles in the old Arbat district of Moscow from the death of Joseph Stalin into the Brezhnev period, charting the rise and decline of the thaw, the birth of dissidence, and the revival of cautious hope. Anyone who has lived in Moscow knows the special place that the Arbat occupies in the minds of Muscovites (even after its mutilation by the wide Novyi Arbat street that sliced off its head and the "pedestrian walk" that cut through its heart). Stephen V. Bittner takes us into the physical space of the district—where once dwelled, among others, Slavophiles, Prince Pëtr Alekseevich Kropotkin, and Konstantin Pobedonostsev—through the resonating mystique nurtured by the iconic bard Bulat Okudzhava, to the politics and culture of the post-Stalin urban world.

The book's narrative strategy is appealing. Like the Dude's rug in *The Big Lebowski* (1998), it pulls together, so to speak, the larger room: an arena of intellectual contestation, full of the promise and peril unveiled in the decade or so of cultural thaw. Bittner explores the inner workings of a musical academy, a theater, a literary research institute—all located in the Arbat—and the offices of Kremlin leaders and architectural planners where the geographic fate of that neighborhood was deliberated. For each of these places, the author delves into life experience, institutional interactions, generational tensions, and reviving ambitions set loose by Nikita Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech of 1956.

The set piece on the Gnesin Music-Pedagogy Institute begins to fill a gap, still very wide, in the political history of Soviet music. A recent book by Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939–1953* (2006), provides the latest word

on the more familiar musical purge of 1948. Bittner offers a microscopic glance inside the walls of the Gnesin and describes the arguments over curricula, jazz, and polytonal composition and the emotional clashes about conscience, passive collaboration, and memory of the Stalinist repression. A parallel investigation of the renowned Vakhtangov Theater revolves around the infighting about a revival of the founder Evgenii Vakhtangov's 1922 experimental staging of Carlo Gozzi's *Turandot* and that of a heavy-handed anti-Stalin play, *Rainstorm*. In both cases, we are treated to the intricacies of backstage politics fought out in the context of outside governmental interference.

Perhaps the most interesting of these cultural-political bouts is that over architectural planning and urban development as it affected the Arbat. In the absence of a private real estate market, the Kremlin leaders had the power to remake parts of Moscow. Khrushchev wanted cheaply-built housing, stripped of excessive ornament. Some architects and planners, recalling the heady Constructivist experimentalism of the 1920s and early 1930s, longed to revive its spirit. Both rejected the neo-Gothic and neo-classical monumentalism of the Stalin years. Bittner focuses on the building of the wide, magisterial Novyi Arbat that was carved through the northern reaches of the old Arbat, leaving in its wake a path of urban demolition to make way for the huge building complexes that still rise above both sides of this roadway. Novyi Arbat eventually became in the 1990s the pioneering strip of a new private economy. Cross-cutting the debates among architects and between them and the government, a preservationist movement entered the fray, accusing the planners of a new iconoclasm: destroying the precious heritage of Russia's venerable capital, particularly notable sites in the Arbat. Here the author skillfully relates a fascinating and complex story of the battle over aesthetics, efficiency, ideology, public policy, and popular needs.

The book ends with a retelling of the infamous arrest and trial of the writers Abram Tertz (Andrei Siniavsky) and Nikolai Arzhak (Yulii Daniel) in 1965 and the role of the Institute of World Literature leading up to the case. The author cites a remarkable volume of letters protesting the trial, written by cultural figures from all over the country. Many of the letters invoke the writer's "civic duty" in making such protests.

Taken as a whole, this book offers a vivid illustration of well-known political tendencies through the currency of cultural history. Like Gorky Street and the suburban dacha community of Peredelkino, the Arbat was a special community filled with members of the cultural intelligentsia. Bittner's study brings the Arbat to life, and, by giving us a piece of vibrant Moscow history, it helps to supplement the rich array of studies on the mystique of St. Petersburg. As the author put it, the Arbat became a key venue "when the Soviet intelligentsia began to reformulate the meanings embedded in thaw" (p. 5).

RICHARD STITES  
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## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

JOEL L. KRAEMER. *Maimonides: The Life and World of One of Civilization's Greatest Minds*. New York: Doubleday. 2008. Pp. xvi, 621. \$35.00.

From Moses Maimonides's birth in Cordoba (1138), through his peregrinations across Fez, Acre, Jerusalem, and finally old Cairo, to his demise (1204) and burial in Tiberias, Joel L. Kraemer gracefully knits together all the extant medieval sources relating to this pivotal figure in Jewish history and thought. With philological acuity and imagination he revives the cultural and intellectual environment in which Maimonides was nurtured so that we can almost hear the noise of the markets in the streets of Fustat where Christian, Hindu, Muslim, and Jewish merchants bartered alongside the music of the Sufis that accompanied them into ecstasy. We empathize with his difficult political role as community leader in the face of internal bickering among the Iraqi, Palestinian, and Karaite factions of his own community and eavesdrop on the heated theological debates among the twenty-one physicians in Saladin's court representing the three monotheistic faiths for whom medicine was an all-encompassing intellectual pursuit and not simply a profession. Although I have studied Maimonides's thought for most of my career as a philosopher, after reading Kraemer's biography I now appreciate as never before Maimonides's conviction, passionate commitment to reason, and the strength of character that enabled him to think, write, and be politically engaged with every facet of the Jewish community's problems while weathering extreme repression, forcible conversions of Islamic fundamentalism, exile, family tragedy, and bitter criticism of his own religious compatriots. His lifelong project to transform "rabbinic myth into secular science" (p. 371) and to promote what Kraemer considers the single most important idea of the Maimonidean oeuvre, that "of an orderly universe governed by laws of cosmic intelligence" (p. 389), continued unabated when most others would have yielded to despair. His intellectual honesty knew no bounds, and nothing could prevent him from disseminating his teaching to those he considered worthy disciples even while consciously exposing himself to the vitriol of "ten thousand ignoramuses" so that he could "liberate the virtuous one from that into which he has sunk and guide him in his perplexity until he becomes perfect and finds rest" (p. 367).

In reconstructing Maimonides's cultural milieu Kraemer moves among Hebrew, Arabic, and Judeo-Arabic documents with ease. Nowhere is this more evident than chapters five to seven, where he confronts the thorny issue of whether Maimonides succumbed to the repressive measures of Almohad rule in Morocco and converted to Islam. After thoroughly canvassing all the early sources, Kraemer concludes that the evidence supports a likely sham conversion to Islam and subsequent marrano-like existence in the face of economic and social oppression so severe as to lead one medieval eyewitness to credit the Almohads with having "wiped

out every remnant of Jews from Tangiers to al-Mahdiyya" (p. 94). Maimonides himself, in his *Epistle on Forced Conversion* (1165), ruled that Jewish law does not prescribe martyrdom over the choice of an insincere declaration (*shahada*) of allegiance to Islam, a religion he did not consider idolatrous. Maimonides's attitude toward this question actually mirrored Islam's own preference for "dissimulation" (*taqiya*) over martyrdom when faced with the same dire choice. On this question though, as with many others, one must consult Herbert A. Davidson's equally masterful analysis in *Moses Maimonides: The Man and His Works* (2005, pp. 9–28), which concludes precisely the opposite, citing ample evidence of the possibility of open Jewish and Christian life under Almohad rule. The one pressing question for me that Kraemer does not satisfactorily address is why Maimonides's family would abandon its home in Cordoba to escape Islamic fundamentalism and seek refuge in Fez, where the same conditions prevailed.

One of the most fascinating features of this period that Kraemer accentuates is that in the midst of this far-from-idyllic environment of religious tensions there also thrived a culture of economic cooperation, theological engagement, and philosophical crosspollination facilitated by the vitality of Ayyubid Islam under Saladin. This environment is captured best by a theological interchange among Maimonides, the Andalusian Jew, a Shi'i scholar, and a Sunni poet in whose literary salon "lovers who love discourse" discussed theology and who wittily memorialized Maimonides's therapeutic skills by his ability to treat a current prevalent malaise and "cure it from the disease of ignorance" (p. 207). This state of affairs could flourish despite the turn from Isma'ili tolerance of the Fatimids to the zealous Ash'ari conservatism of the Ayyubids, both of whom Maimonides managed to coexist with—a tribute to his extraordinary diplomatic talents.

In this kind of biographical study there is always the danger of a historical reductionism that views Maimonides as the sum of his surrounding influences, and generally Kraemer avoids this pitfall. On occasion he does falter, as with the claim that the three monotheistic religions share a common belief in the heavenly ascent of their founders (p. 174). Though this may very well be, it is certainly not the case when Maimonides is thrown into the mix. Aside from these minor lapses, Kraemer's biography is an indispensable contribution to our understanding of the man whose legacy includes the seminal works in both Jewish theology (*The Guide of the Perplexed* [1190]) and rabbinic legal tradition (*Mishneh Torah* [1168]) with which all subsequent Jewish thought has been and continues to be in discourse. Perhaps for our age what Kraemer emphasizes was Maimonides's paramount concern in communal affairs, as culled from his copious responsa, is as important as his intellectual goals—to "avoid factions and create accord in the community" (p. 286).

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YAACOV LEV. *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. x, 214. \$59.95.

The concept of charity and charitable institutions featured prominently in medieval Islamic societies. In recent years this issue has received increasing attention in the form of case studies like Adam Sabra's *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (2000). Yaacov Lev sets out to cast the net wider: his aim is to provide a survey of this topic between the ninth and the sixteenth centuries in the Arabic Middle East and the Iranian world.

Lev's main argument is that Jewish, Christian, and Islamic societies shared what he describes as "sacred charity": that is, charity underpinned by the quest for personal salvation. It was not the alleviation of poverty and social misery that was charity's main aim, but rather religious and cultural needs. This sacred charity "showed remarkable uniformity in the face of changing historical circumstances" (p. 1). It was only with the changes that took place in early modern Europe that a significant departure from the shared tradition occurred.

Lev organizes his material in seven chapters that move from the question of charity to the issue of endowments. His focus in the text is always on practices of charity and endowments, whereas concepts of charity hardly receive any attention. This focus has enabled him to assemble an impressive amount of examples that illustrate these practices on the basis of legal and administrative manuals, historical and geographical writings, biographical dictionaries, urban topographies, and travel accounts. To provide these examples constitutes the book's main merit, and they will be a rich resource for anybody interested in the practice of charity and endowments in an Islamic context. In addition, this study is easily accessible for the non-specialist. Jargon is reduced to a minimum, transliteration is largely omitted, terms in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman are well defined, and the historiographical background of a number of issues is indicated.

However, there are problems that range from the trivial—such as repeated errors in the transliteration (for instance *du'a*, p. 3; *wabā*, p. 28), the erroneous omission of the article (for instance, Ibn Jawzi, p. 37), and inconsistent dating, with Islamic dates mentioned and omitted without an apparent system—to the more relevant. First, the study does not attempt to offer even coverage of the period and region under consideration. In regional terms, Egypt and to a lesser degree Syria are central whereas the Iranian world hardly receives serious consideration. This also explains why crucial relevant literature such as Birgitt Hoffmann's study on endowments in Mongolian Iran, *Waqf im mongolischen Iran: Ra šiduddins Sorge um Nachruhm und Seelenheil* (2000), is not taken into account. In chronological terms, the early period up to the twelfth century receives rather brief references, and it is only for the subsequent periods that substantial material is offered.

Thus, Lev's book is in many ways a study of the issue in the context of the late Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk dynasties in Egypt and Syria rather than a study of medieval Islam.

Second, a number of chapters remain inconclusive, and the author does not offer an explicit and detailed interpretation of the material. While the rich anecdotal material is the book's strength, the reader is sometimes at a loss as to what to make out of it. The discussion stops too often with the statement that this is a "complex question" (chapter one) or a "complex issue" (chapter two). In the same vein, the book's main argument as stated in the introduction is not really taken up and substantiated thereafter. Finally, the discussion centers generally on cases referring to the political elite, more often than not on the respective ruler himself. Lev assumes that "this type of conduct was common to all, irrespective of social divisions, and was practiced by the rulers and common people alike" (pp. 25–26). This allows him to draw general conclusions on charity and endowments from this—in social terms—rather limited set of examples. However, this assumption is far from being commonsensical and deserves some discussion. Obviously, charitable practices among the common people are hard to trace, but the practices among the civilian elite, such as judges, wealthy merchants, etc., could have been pursued more systematically in order to put this argument to the test. The section on "The Charities of the Commoners" (pp. 35–39) is too short to underpin a statement that is crucial for the book's main argument.

In sum, this is an accessible and important book for anybody looking for concrete examples of practices of charity and endowments in the context of late twelfth to early sixteenth-century Egypt and Syria, although it would have gained from a clearer argumentative organization.

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M. ŞÜKRÜ HANIOĞLU. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 241. \$29.95.

In this relatively slender book of six chapters plus a conclusion, M. Şükrü Hanioglu proposes to study briefly what has been dubbed "the longest" Ottoman century: that is, roughly from Selim III's reign (1789–1807) to the demise of the empire in 1918. Moreover, he proposes to abandon or retol the old classical approaches to the study of the period centered mainly on the ideas of progress, Westernization, modernization, nationalism, and secularism, in order to stress instead the "oppressive weight of circumstances" (p. 2). As a result, his areas of focus include the center's efforts to control the provinces, the transformation of the old order, the Ottoman state's adaptation to modernity, and the state's incorporation into the world system after 1815 even though it "lacked the innate power to transform itself

into a new kind of empire, more suited to the modern age" (p. 4).

These intriguing, challenging, and provocative views are raised in the introduction, but the narrative that follows, written in clear and informative language, still sticks to the classical chronological approach. It begins with an historical overview of the Ottoman state, its provinces, legal system, economy, society, and languages, on the eve of modernization. The rest of the chapters deal with the Tanzimat reforms (1839–1861), constitutionalism (1876), the Hamidian regime, and so on. The last and longest chapter deals with the Union and Progress era (1908–1918), which Hanioglu has studied in depth in three published works.

The reforms created splits in practically every field: the Janissaries opposed the new army and the religious establishment condemned the reformist intellectuals. By the end of the century, however, all had united to accuse their own government, either for deviating from the "true" path or for condoning foreign interference. Ironically it was the provincial leaders, as Hanioglu makes clear, "who attempted to impose modernization on the center" (p. 203) on their own terms, but ultimately they were forced to leave the direction of the reforms to the state. Throughout the book, Hanioglu insists that nationalism rooted in ethnicity was the key force that led the Orthodox Christians to national statehood and separatism, later to be followed by the Muslim Albanians and eventually by the Arabs. In previous centuries those ethnic groups had maintained their identity despite the Orthodox Patriarchate's ecumenism, the Muslims' concept of *ummet-ummah* (universal community), and Abdulhamid II's (1876–1909) placing his caliphal title over his main worldly attribute as sultan. But if ethnicity was the driving force behind nineteenth-century nationalism, how is it that "none of the original founders of the committee [of Union and Progress] was of Turkish origin," yet they "adopted a Muslim variant of Ottomanism quite similar to the ideology promoted by Abdulhamid II" (p. 145)? I might add that many leaders and participants in the War of Liberation (1919–1922) and in the establishment of the Republic (1923) were ethnically non-Turks, as were the main nationalist ideologues and many religious leaders, but all claimed to be "Turks" despite their differing understandings of the term's content. The new twentieth-century "Turk" created from the dough of Central Asian and Ottoman culture and institutions and Western ideology and technology still retained many of the communal-Islamic ingredients of the past. Hanioglu intimates that the multisided Ottoman modernization produced diverse results among the major ethnic groups and regions by reviving old memories and reshaping them according to prevailing political and intellectual circumstances. Apparently limited space prevented him from providing additional consideration of all these complex questions. A somewhat ostentatious use of Ottoman archival sources, some of limited value, and the neglect of many excellent studies published in

the Western languages on the issues debated during the past two decades detract from the book's value.

Hanioglu does, however, broaden our understanding of modernization by pointing to the rise among both Muslims and non-Muslims of new literary genres of the novel and drama, which became effective means of social and political education and were the intellectual by-products of the rising middle class. The new Muslim middle class were provincial notables who demanded decentralization and a brand of modernization that mixed cultural conservatism with economic liberalism. Moreover, Hanioglu stresses the fact that the European powers' partisan support of Christian groups and constant interference in Ottoman internal affairs undermined the reforms' success.

To sum up, this book raises a series of new questions and calls for developing new approaches and ideas to analyze the last Ottoman century and understand better the rise of national states in the Balkans and the Middle East, especially Turkey, which was the successor and heir to all these legacies and their baffling contradictions, such as adherence to elitist traditions of the past while preaching Jacobinist change. That the demise of the Ottoman Empire created more problems than it solved seems to be Hanioglu's conclusion as well. In short, this is a thought-provoking book and I recommend it highly.

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HİKMET ÖZDEMİR. *The Ottoman Army, 1914–1918: Disease and Death on the Battlefield*. Translated by SABAN KARDAŞ. (Utah Series in Turkish and Islamic Studies.) Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 274. \$25.00.

In this book, Hikmet Özdemir explores the dismal health and sanitary conditions generated throughout the Anatolian landscape starting with the Balkan Wars (1912) and ending with the Turco-Greek War (1922). By using the prism of health to map out the activities and movements of the Ottoman military, the author strives to establish the relationship between wars and epidemics during the period concerned. The emphasis has been placed on World War I, when the Ottoman army fought on multiple fronts. The central argument of the book is that the Ottoman territories, especially Anatolia, and more specifically its eastern sections, were ravaged by numerous epidemics and continuous warfare during World War I that vastly contributed to the production and spread of various diseases throughout the Ottoman lands. The microbes borne on the battlefield quickly spread as a major cause of high mortality not only among soldiers, regardless of rank, but also among the civilian populations of Anatolia, regardless of ethnic or religious affiliation. Taken as such, the book is engaged with a novel and highly relevant subject. That the issues of disease and epidemics have altogether been neglected in the study of late Ottoman



history makes them even more appropriate for the subject of a scholarly book.

Providing a survey of epidemics and other diseases prior to World War I, Özdemir boldly states that Ottoman soldiers died more of infectious diseases than combat-related wounds. He builds his story by incorporating into his narrative the state of transportation facilities and infrastructure throughout Anatolia, which logistically crippled the army and the state in their war against disease. This became even more pronounced during World War I when Anatolia, especially its eastern sections, suffered the ever-deteriorating conditions of hygiene that claimed "the lives of millions of people from various nationalities and religions" (p. 67). The author takes his argument to a point where he claims that "during World War I, Turkey was the only country in which deaths from disease well exceeded combat fatalities" (p. 133), a hypothesis that he hastens to prove for the civilian populations, especially the Armenians, with lengthy quotations from a number of controversial publications.

Özdemir doggedly argues that diseases and epidemics played a considerable role in the diminution of the Armenian population throughout Anatolia during the period concerned. So it was not the expulsion (*tehcir*) policies of the Ottoman government as such but the ravaging diseases with their galvanizing effects on the expulsion that explain the high rate of Armenian casualties. The author speaks of other groups such as Muslims, Greeks, and Jews, to the extent that they help support his argument about the Armenians, such as referring to Muslim refugees carrying diseases into the inner parts of Anatolia while the movement of the Armenian convoys expanded the zone of disease toward Syria and Palestine. Özdemir's chief objective turns out to be highlighting the epidemics as a natural factor that caused the death of the Armenian populations during World War I, when the Ottoman government adopted excessive measures to uproot thousands of Armenians from their homelands. This is, all in all, a tautological argument given the dearth of evidence and the lopsided nature of the published Turkish sources—particularly those concerning the number of Armenian refugees—employed in an uncritical manner by the author.

Despite the obvious merit of engaging a novel subject and providing the reader with a comprehensive, factual survey of epidemics, this book should be placed within the controversial literature on the Armenian question. Like similar publications, it is tautological. In terms of sources the author is almost fully dependent on the published material and his use of evidence is highly problematic, such as relying on an article published in 1952 to back up a claim that the Bulgarian army, having experienced a serious cholera epidemic during the Balkan War, dumped the corpses of dead soldiers into streams and wells in order to contaminate drinking water, thus infecting the Greek soldiers who drank it (p. 3). The medical conditions of the Anatolian landscape are introduced as an important topic of research. But in order to address the effects of those conditions upon

the population, one has to go beyond the limitations of the official sources, especially those of the military institutions, and make use of the archives of different organizations such as the Red Crescent, hospitals, foreign relief agencies, missionaries, etc. Instead, the author employs the existing secondary literature and quotes from it extensively, reinforcing my impression that there is a considerable problem with Özdemir's command of sources.

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EBRU BOYAR. *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*. (Library of Ottoman Studies, number 12.) New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007. Pp. xii, 243. \$79.95.

Ebru Boyar's study examines the psychological trauma suffered by the Ottoman and Turkish elites in the wake of the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, which reduced the Ottoman Empire to a predominantly Asiatic country. As Boyar rightly argues, this development went far beyond losing substantial pieces of territory, and its reverberations can be felt even in present-day Turkey. Her study thus attempts to understand "in what ways the loss of the Balkans coloured Ottoman/Turkish self-perception and shaped the relations of the empire and later Republic with the outside world."

Inevitably, the loss of Rumelia (European Turkey) prompted a new view of the geographical character of the empire among the Ottoman ruling elite. For centuries, the empire had rested on two central pillars, Rumelia and Anatolia, with the imperial capital Istanbul in between as the jewel in the crown. Upon the loss of most of the European provinces some influential thinkers and German military advisers went so far as to propose the removal of the capital from Istanbul to a major town in central Anatolia or northern Syria. The Ottoman Empire collapsed less than a decade after the ignominious defeats in 1912–1913, and hence the "Sick Man of Europe" did not, in fact, deal with the problems stemming from becoming a primarily Asiatic power.

Unlike the pre-1913 Ottoman Empire, its major successor, modern Turkey, cannot be effortlessly European. In fact, it sought to prove to the old continent that, despite having most of its territory in Asia, it belonged culturally to Europe and was an integral part of it. Consequently, the Turkish history and language theses of the 1930s maintained that "European man" was of Turkic origin, that Turks were descended from a brachycephalic, Alpine race, and that Arian European languages were derived from proto-Turkish; these theses aimed at establishing a non-geographic Europeaness. Today an overwhelming majority of the Turkish population views Turkey as a European country thanks to the Ottoman Empire's long-lasting rule in southeastern Europe and these early republican history and language theses. They further consider the end of Ottoman rule in Europe as one of the greatest injustices ever inflicted on an ethnoreligious group. Thus the topic of

Boyar's study is worth discussion and is of great importance not only for Ottomanists and Balkanists but also for those scholars who work on modern Turkey.

Boyar's study is a well-researched and tightly argued piece of scholarship. The analysis is based upon original documents as well as an impressive number of reference works and a secondary literature including dictionaries, encyclopedias, and major official Ottoman histories. While Boyar's conclusion maintaining that the loss of Rumelia was a shattering blow to the Ottoman elite and the founders of the Turkish republic is not surprising, her detailed narrative helps the reader understand the reasons for the psychological trauma suffered by these intellectuals and statesmen and its magnitude, as well as the long-lasting aftershock.

Although written with precision and authority, this study suffers from minor theoretical and technical flaws. First, as the author states, "the Balkans" was a concept often used in Ottoman parlance; however, it was not a synonym for Rumelia. In post-1878 usage, while the phrase "the Balkans" generally referred to the Balkan peninsula and included the new, independent Christian powers, Rumelia or *Avrupa-yı Osmani* alluded to the areas under Ottoman administration. The difference between these two concepts is at times blurred in the text. Second, the trauma that the Ottoman and Turkish elites suffered stemmed more from the reduction of the empire to an Asiatic power than from the loss of territory as such. As the leaders of the Committee of Progress and Union confessed in 1908, "If Heaven forefend we lose Rumelia then . . . Ottoman sovereignty will be reduced to the level of Iranian power." Had Boyar examined the post-Balkan Wars discussion in Ottoman periodicals more closely, she would have made this point clearer. Third, the detailed section on history writing in the late Ottoman Empire takes the reader out of the main narrative. A shorter chapter focusing on the conceptualization of Rumelia and the Balkans in late Ottoman historiography would have made the book more solid and comprehensive. Finally, a longer and more analytical conclusion avoiding quotations would have helped the author to convey her main theses to the reader more effectively.

Likewise, a thorough editing process would have helped the author avoid numerous misspelled words, erroneous translations, and factual errors. For instance, in Ottoman Turkish "peninsula" is *şibh-i cezire* and not *şeb-i cezire* (pp. 30–31, 39); *Kadınlar Saltanatı* should be translated as "The Reign of Women" and not as "The Sultanate of Women" (p. 25); Murad Bey returned to the empire in 1897, not 1887 (p. 22); and Abdullah Cevdet Bey was not "a well-known positivist writer" (p. 92) but a staunch critic of positivism; as a disciple of vulgar materialist Ludwig Büchner he abhorred this philosophy as a new religion.

Despite these minor imperfections, this well-documented, thought-provoking study stands as a most welcome contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

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PRIYA SATIA. *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 458. \$55.00.

The striking image on the cover of Priya Satia's impressive study—a small Wapiti airplane whizzing over a camel party striding in the desert—is a perfect emblem of this book's theme: the role played by the informal network of Edwardian British spies in the construction of Britain's "covert empire" in Arabia, that "new form of imperial rule, invisible, barely existing on paper, designed for an increasingly anti-imperialist postwar world" (p. 7). Juxtaposing the romance of the timeless dunes with the violence of modern warfare—contrasting the slow movement of the caravan's horizontal progress with the airplane's all-encompassing vertical gaze—the photograph suggests how the creation of Britain's brutal aerial surveillance regime in post-World War I Iraq was rooted in the physical nature of the Arabian desert, constructed in the British imagination as an unfathomable, unreadable space, which must be made legible to the emerging colonial state, "a state that could not see" (p. 4).

Drawing on a rich array of archival sources, and interweaving military, diplomatic, social, and literary history, Satia offers a groundbreaking cultural history of the British involvement in Arabia (present-day Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia). The escapades of David Hogarth, T. E. Lawrence, Gertrude Bell, and their fellow intelligencers have attracted a great deal of popular and scholarly attention; the harsh reality of British rule in Iraq, although hardly as picturesque, has also been explored at some length. Satia's contribution lies in her convincing contention that it was the *cultural world* of these Edwardian explorers—their personal idiosyncrasies, academic background, Orientalist conceptions, and, last but not least, artistic ambitions—that ultimately shaped Britain's imperial presence in Iraq.

The first section of the book, "War and Hope," traces the rise of that small community of British soldiers, diplomats, and ethnographers who worked in Arabia before and during the war: often self-fashioned as eccentrics, their spiritual yearnings and literary aspirations were in fact typical of the mainstream effort of coming to terms with modernity. Drawn to this cradle of civilization for personal rather than patriotic motives, these imperial agents set out to mimic the local nomads, first as a technique for illicit intelligence gathering, then as a way of conducting desert warfare. In doing so, they tended to privilege intuition over empiricism—to favor "genius" over the systematic search for hard facts—as the only way of mastering the deceptive Arab desert, or mind, or both. The second section, "Peace and Terror," demonstrates how this cult of the intuitive genius generated the British sense of paranoia in the 1920s (conspiracies, after all, should be sensed, not proven), which, in turn, constructed aerial surveillance—a nomadic eye in the sky—as an ideal way of controlling the treacherous Arabian landscape and creating "a space in

the air for empire at a time when imperialism was no longer at home in the world" (p. 262). Requiring "a minimal commitment of material and manpower for a maximum result of the illusion, if not the actual achievement, of total control" (p. 279), this covert empire was as much about misleading public opinion at home as managing the indigenous population on the Arabian ground.

A brief review cannot do justice to Satia's erudite writing: the power of her book lies in its painstaking attention to detail. Meticulously researched, this work seems to take the cultural history of the British Empire to a new phase of sophistication. It is rare, moreover, to find a historian attuned to the tools of literary criticism, relying not merely on the literary history of the period but also on close readings of fiction and even alliterations: "'Arabia' is a classical word whose initial and terminal 'a's' seem to gesture in the purity of tone and open-endedness to all that is romantic, past, magical, and far away" (p. 13). And while the book clearly draws on the dreamy appeal of its theme, it succeeds in avoiding the starry-eyed, nostalgic tone that colors much of this literature. Equally admirable is Satia's resistance to cash in on the present-day situation in Iraq: although her later chapters include some poignant references to the U.S. occupation, she refuses to offer direct, yet simplified, parallels.

To be sure, even in this sober mode, the book sometimes becomes too wordy, even repetitious, reveling in endless name dropping and anecdote. It is as if Satia's beautifully crafted prose is involuntarily mimicking the official reports of those Edwardian agents, tinted by an anti-empirical literary style, often to the point of complete digression ("I seemed to have wandered from the point," Satia quotes Lawrence [p. 110]). The book, moreover, is at times hazy about dates (shifting too easily from the 1920s to the 1930s) and rather surprisingly short on historical facts or figures (for example, the postwar insurgencies in Iraq are described and discussed in less than one page). Still, these are minor flaws in what is otherwise a truly original study.

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JAMES ONLEY. *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxv, 352. \$130.00.

Using a wide range of primary sources both in English and in Arabic, James Onley has written a well-researched study documenting Britain's nineteenth-century role in the Persian/Arab Gulf region. Onley points out that previous studies of the Gulf Residency have been written by British officials who served in the region or "by historians relying entirely on British sources" (p. 47–48). Emphasizing Britain's use of native residents rather than British officials, Onley explains how throughout the nineteenth century, relying

on such agents, Britain maintained control of its Political Residency in the Persian Gulf.

Although native agents had extensive social and business contacts that enhanced their ability to work effectively in the region, at the outset not all British officials were happy with the decision to use them. Onley explains that at the end of the eighteenth century the British Resident in Bushire, Nicholas Hankey Smith, was unwilling to hand over the British flag to a newly appointed Muslim agent. "It would be 'repugnant to the honor of the British Nation' and 'disgraceful to the name of the Englishmen to deliver the British Flag to the will of a Mussulman'" he declared (p. 90). His superiors had no such reservations. The Governor of Bombay refused to accept Smith's position and Smith was overruled.

Onley provides a detailed portrait of some of the native agents employed to represent Britain, established merchants who had good relations with their rulers. Although these agents were paid very little they benefited from their British connections, which offered protection, prestige, and influence. Often upon retirement native agents were replaced by their sons or nephews. Thus, representing Britain became another component of the family business.

Onley explains that throughout the nineteenth century Britain's goal was to maintain the security of its route to India, to prevent piracy, and to keep other great powers from interfering in the region. Native assistance was essential because British officials could neither cope with the extreme climate nor survive the multitude of diseases that spread throughout the region. According to Onley, the Gulf earned the reputation "as a white man's grave" (p. 68).

Initially British Political Residents in the Gulf appointed not only Muslims but also Hindus to serve as agents. However, in 1834 some Gulf ruling family members objected to Hindus serving in that capacity. As a result, Residents appointed Muslims, both Arabs and Persians; "the only exceptions appear to be two Jewish Arabs and one Christian Arab who served as agents in Muscat" (p. 82).

Throughout the nineteenth century Britain benefited from its employment of natives. However, there were a variety of problems involved in relying on Gulf merchants, who were not professionally trained. Sometimes they provided inaccurate intelligence reports and occasionally they were faced with conflict of interest issues. "Whatever conflict of interests there was in mixing trade with politics, most of the Residents and their superiors in India seem to have considered this a price that had to be paid for the services of these well-connected and influential men" (p. 98).

Finally, Onley explores why at the end of the nineteenth century, fearing the growing interests of other European powers in the Gulf, Britain began to replace its native agents with British officials. The Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, was so concerned about having the appropriate Englishmen employed in the Gulf that he wished personally to interview candidates prior to their

appointments. "Henceforth, he would be on the lookout for good men whom he could send to the Gulf" (p. 212). Onley also investigates how the British addressed the problem of the additional cost involved and how, in Bahrain, they considered taking over control of customs.

Given its emphasis on Britain's native agents, its long list of maps, tables, and figures, and its extensive bibliography, this book is an excellent resource for scholars studying the Gulf region and for those interested in British imperialism. Onley has provided us with a unique view of the nineteenth-century Gulf.

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W. TAYLOR FAIN. *American Ascendancy and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. viii, 283. \$84.95.

In 1951, when W. Taylor Fain's book begins, Great Britain dominated not only the Persian Gulf but the entire Middle East. This dominance was soon to be challenged by Arab nationalism in one form or another: revolutionary officers in Egypt under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser demanded that Great Britain withdraw its 80,000 soldiers stationed along the Suez Canal, Iranian Prime Minister Muhammad Musaddiq nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) in Iran, and, finally, Saudi Arabia, aided and abetted by the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO), occupied the Buraimi oasis in the British-controlled protectorates of Abu Dhabi and Muscat and Oman. Despite British pleas for assistance, the United States stayed aloof, fearing that, unless Washington sought to accommodate Arab nationalism and Third World independence, these areas would fall under Soviet influence. The early 1950s were thus tempestuous years in Anglo-American relations that resulted in the 1956 Suez crisis, where American pressure inflicted a humiliating defeat on Great Britain and a transfer of power in the region from Great Britain to the United States (with the exception of the Persian Gulf, which remained mainly a British preserve).

The transfer of power in the Middle East has received much scholarly attention, while Anglo-American relations in the Persian Gulf have been comparatively neglected. Fain's book is thus a welcome addition to the literature. His work is in many ways an impressive achievement, particularly in the ways that the author demonstrates control of an enormous body of primary source material as well as familiarity with most, if not all, of the secondary scholarship. Fain argues that British and American interests more often than not ran on parallel tracks during the 1950s and 1960s, but they were never identical. For Great Britain, it was important to protect its investments in the region by securing the supply of oil and thereby indirectly shoring up British claims to great power status. Washington, on the other hand, Fain explains, saw the Persian Gulf region almost exclusively in a Cold War context, while wanting

Great Britain to remain in the area after patching up relations after the Suez crisis. In one of the stronger passages of the book, Fain analyzes how British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan assiduously worked to strengthen Anglo-American relations after Suez, developing the concept of "interdependence": that is, a close British and American partnership. This in turn improved Anglo-American relations so much that the United States would make considerable efforts to enable Great Britain to remain in the Persian Gulf. In short, during the Kennedy and Johnson eras American policy toward the Middle East and the Persian Gulf could be characterized as keeping the Russians out, the British in, and the Arab nationalists quiet.

As Fain expertly outlines, with the exception of the Harold Wilson government (1964–1970), Great Britain never really wanted to leave the Persian Gulf. Even Wilson was determined to remain in the Persian Gulf, Fain argues, but was forced to withdraw because of the financial crisis in the United Kingdom. While pledging to undo the withdrawal decision, the Conservatives under Edward Heath found it impossible to do so, due to the lack of local support and the fact that the withdrawal process had gone too far to reverse. Still, given those circumstances Heath, with the support and concurrence of the Nixon administration, did his utmost to preserve as much as possible of British influence in the Persian Gulf.

While this book has much to recommend it, one wishes that Fain had engaged himself more fully in the historical debate; as it now stands, Fain's historiographical discussion tends to be somewhat superficial. There is also a sometimes disturbing tendency to avoid going into controversial issues. To give two examples: Fain glosses over the all-important oil negotiations over the Iranian concession when, after the coup d'état against Musaddiq, American pressure reduced Great Britain to a minority position (forty percent) where it before had held exclusive sway. In Buraimi, the British threatened twice during the spring of 1954 to kill all Americans found in the oasis. Furthermore, there are too many errors in this book. Selwyn Lloyd is referred to as British foreign secretary in 1954, when he was not actually appointed to the post until 1955. George Brown, Wilson's foreign secretary, was, according to Fain, against the British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf, when in fact the opposite was the case. Wilson is said to have been prime minister in June 1964, which is perhaps a little premature, since he won the election in October of that year. Fain argues that the shah's seizure of the Persian Gulf islands Abu Musa and the Tunbs "deeply embarrassed the British" (p. 190), ignoring the fact that Great Britain was in agreement with the shah's land-grabbing irredentism. Still, despite these criticisms, Fain has made a significant contribution to our understanding of Anglo-American relations in the Persian Gulf, and his work will probably be mandatory reading for all scholars in this field.

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KAMRAN SCOT AGHAIE. *The Martyrs of Karbala: Shi'i Symbols and Rituals in Modern Iran*. (Publications on the Near East.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 200. \$24.95.

The commemoration of the Battle of Karbala on 10 Moharram 61h/10 October 680 C.E., in which the Prophet Muhammad's grandson Hoseyn and most of his family and supporters were killed by the Umayyad army of Yazid, is the most important religious ritual defining Shi'ite identity and expressing Shi'ite social and political ideals. In this important book, combining historical analysis with anthropological insights, Kamran Scot Aghaie traces patterns of continuity and change in Moharram rituals and symbols from the nineteenth century to the present in two interrelated spheres: their political role, either enhancing governmental legitimacy or as a vehicle for oppositional mobilization; and their importance in promoting social bonds, status, identities, and ideals.

Aghaie demonstrates how the Qajar rulers (1796–1925) reinforced their legitimacy by sponsoring readings of lamentations called *rowzeh khanis* and *majalis* in their palaces and by building amphitheaters where *ta'ziyeh*'s, reenactments of the battle, were performed. The Moharram rituals provided a common vocabulary for the Qajars and their subjects that rendered some degree of mediation or integration between state and society by reinforcing social status and bonds and by debating political issues in sermons delivered on that day. The powerful Iranian clergy (*ulama*) did not always endorse the *ta'ziyeh* rituals, but few challenged them.

Contrary to the Qajars, the Pahlavis (1925–1979) did not utilize the Moharram symbols and rituals as a legitimizing strategy. Reza Shah (r. 1925–1941) was hostile to these rituals, outlawing many of them. His son, Mohammad Reza Shah (r. 1941–1979), accepted only the more politically moderate ones. Their hostility was also motivated by the fear that the supposedly “primitive and barbaric” rituals would undermine Iran's international image as well as the regime's nationalist ideology and modernization programs. This policy, exacerbated by the contradiction between the shah's claims for religious legitimacy and his personal conduct and policies, deepened the discord between state and society.

As religion remained one of the few relatively open avenues of expression since the 1960s, Moharram rituals became a crucial vehicle for political mobilization against the Pahlavis, with protest themes woven into the narrative of the rituals by equating the shah with Yazid and the protesters with Hoseyn. As part of this process, the Islamic opposition reinterpreted, through internal debates and criticism, the “meta-narrative” of the Moharram rituals from one focusing on grief over Hoseyn's suffering into a revolutionary one presenting Hoseyn's martyrdom as a model for rebellion against corrupt rulers. Moreover, the Karbala paradigm shifted from portraying a Shi'ite struggle against Sunni oppression into a popular Shi'i confrontation with the Pahlavis and a

worldwide Muslim conflict with Western imperialism. Lay thinkers, particularly 'Ali Shari'ati, integrated the Karbala symbols into a new revolutionary dogma heavily influenced by Western political philosophy.

Analyzing the gender discourse of the Moharram rituals, Aghaie demonstrates how the Karbala narrative became a vehicle for promoting a variety of different concepts, articulated mostly by males. Most important among these were the division of the political, economic, and social spheres of men and women; distinctions between male activities and female activities; the importance of male authority over women; and the corresponding subservience and loyalty of women to men. Most traits attributed to women were presented as acceptable for men as well, but not the other way around. These models of behavior, which stressed the centrality of women's morality, were promoted as alternatives to what was increasingly portrayed as Western concepts of womanhood promoted by the Pahlavis.

Following the 1979 Revolution, the Islamic Republic harnessed the Moharram rituals as a primary means for promoting the legitimacy and revolutionary program of the new state. The concepts of jihad and martyrdom were effectively employed to motivate a sense of moral courage and sacrifice among the troops fighting in the war against Iraq. Cemeteries built for the fallen soldiers in every city were decorated with banners and signs that stressed the importance of jihad and martyrdom modeled after Hoseyn and his followers in Karbala.

Throughout the book, Aghaie analyzes the role of the Moharram rituals as a primary means for expressing and reinforcing social relationships, including ethnic, occupational, regional, family, and tribal bonds. As the Pahlavi modernization program and modern economic forces transformed Iranian society, the Moharram rituals served to express alternative identities based on ethnicity, regional affiliations, ideological orientation, cohort, occupation, family ties, and neighborhoods. In summarizing the political dimension of the Moharram rituals, Aghaie concludes that the state could influence symbols and rituals to enhance its legitimacy but it could not control them. Although both the Qajars and the Islamic Republic relied heavily on Shi'i symbols and rituals, they used them in different ways; the main difference was the fact that the Islamic Republic was essentially a modern nation-state.

Overall, for fusing together cultural, social, and political history of the Moharram rituals and symbols, Aghaie's book is highly recommended to all those interested in modern Shi'i and Iranian history.

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HAMID REZA SADR. *Iranian Cinema: A Political History*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2006. Pp. 303. \$28.95.

Since the early 1990s Iranian films have become staple offerings at art house cinemas worldwide and regularly garnered awards at international film festivals. Western

reviewers commonly extol these films both for their cinematographic qualities and the illuminating glimpses that they offer into the politics and social realities of Iran. In this book the film critic Hamid Reza Sadr focuses on the latter and undertakes the ambitious task of writing a comprehensive history of the "political, economic, and social factors" (p. 3) that have shaped the course of Iranian filmmaking. The book is most useful for its thorough coverage of the Iranian film industry before the emergence of the New Wave in the 1970s and its flowering in the 1990s, and Sadr's Marxist economic and ideological orientation proves most insightful in these early decades. But when the book turns to the more artistically sophisticated films of recent years, its sheer inclusiveness often precludes the detailed analyses that the films merit, and the focus on the politics of local production and consumption can obscure the very qualities that give these films their broad international appeal.

The book is organized chronologically; each chapter covers a decade or two and is divided into thematic subsections. The first chapter briefly discusses the first appearance of cinema in Persia during the waning years of the Qajar dynasty. Here one first notices a certain carelessness that runs throughout the book: we are informed, for example, that the French photographer Jules Richard visited Persia in 1844, but the dates of his lifetime are given as 1761–1791 (p. 6); the transliteration for Persian terms, names, and film titles is inconsistent; and finally, the book lacks all but the most rudimentary documentation, a problem most strikingly evident in the lack of a comprehensive bibliography or filmography. These problems aside, the opening chapter introduces two themes that will figure prominently in the book: the roles of both Western influence and clerical attitudes on the development of Iranian cinema. The next two chapters cover the decades of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s and bring in two other central themes: government censorship of both the production and the exhibition of films, and Hollywood domination of the film market and shaping of Iranian self-depiction through the propagation of Orientalist stereotypes of the exotic and passive East.

In his account of the rebirth of the Iranian film industry after the War, Sadr links the rise of Muhammad Reza Shah with the new genre of the pseudo-historical epic in the 1950s and attributes the emergence of "rags-to-riches" stories and the prominence of characters from the professional classes to the importation of Western bourgeois values. He provides several examples of how the censorship codes, which he quotes at length, discouraged any depiction of poverty or the lower-classes that might call into question the top-down modernization of Iran. For Sadr, rapid urbanization and the growing disparity between rich and poor dominate cinematic developments in the 1960s, leading to

films that idealize village life and the emergence of a new type of cinematic hero: the poor urban *luti*, a street-smart opponent of corruption able to cross class boundaries with moral values intact. In the 1970s, the *luti* took on a much darker coloring as the film noir anti-hero driven to extreme violence in a quest for vengeance. This decade, however, also witnessed the first appearance of the New Wave in Iranian cinema in the work of directors such as Dariush Mehrjui, Bahram Bayzai, and Amir Naderi. This chapter opens with discussion of Mehrjui's landmark film *The Cow* (*Gaav* [1969]), first financed and then banned by the shah's government for its stark portrayal of rural poverty. But when Sadr argues that the death of the cow and the resulting psychological breakdown of its owner represent Iran's anxiety about its overdependence on oil resources (p. 133), it is hard not to note a certain clumsiness in his Marxian project of tying cultural expression directly to forces of production.

The last half of the book is justifiably devoted to the full maturation of Iranian filmmaking in the years following the Revolution of 1979. Condemnation of the cinema as a symptom of Western corruption during the revolution gave way to its use as a critical tool of ideological propaganda in the early 1980s, especially in the proliferation of films on the Iraq-Iran War. Censorship rules even more stringent than those under the shah continued to exercise a decisive influence, especially in the ways that women could be represented. Yet the commitment of the new regime to the use of film to portray societal problems and the turn away from the genres and star-system of earlier decades set the stage for the golden age of Iranian cinema after 1988, the subject of the longest chapter in the book. Sadr gives a detailed account of some of its distinguishing themes and characters: the returning war veteran, the innocent child, the threatening adolescent, and the struggling professional woman. As the chapter moves rapidly between social and political developments, prominent auteurs and actors, and dozens of films, the reader and the author's argument can get lost in the sheer wealth of information.

Sadr's book provides a useful survey of the complex history of Iranian cinema, from mediocre obscurity to worldwide prominence. Some thirty black-and-white stills illustrate its discussion of more important films. The mass of detail is sometimes overwhelming, and a chronological filmography would have been a great asset. Sadr's critical method, though admirable in its goals, is sometimes heavy-handed in its execution. Nevertheless, he provides one of the fullest accounts of the history of Iranian cinema in English, and it should offer a convenient starting point for more theoretically sophisticated studies.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### METHODS/THEORY

WARREN BRECKMAN et al. *The Modernist Imagination: Intellectual History and Critical Theory; Essays in Honor of Martin Jay*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2009. Pp. xxxix, 417. \$120.00.

LLOYD KRAMER, Martin Jay and the Dialectics of Intellectual History. DAVID SORKIN, "The Kiss of Lamourette": "Possibilism" or "Christian Democracy"? JERROLD SEIGEL, Selves without Qualities? Duchamp, Musil, and the History of Selfhood. GREGORY B. MOYNAHAN, Liberty and the "Coming-into-Being" of Natural Law: Hans Kelsen and Ernst Cassirer. PETER E. GORDON, The Artwork beyond Itself: Adorno, Beethoven, and Late Style. SAMUEL MOYN, Marxism and Alterity: Claude Lefort and the Critique of Totality. WARREN BRECKMAN, The Return of the King: Hegelianism and Post-Marxism in Zizek and Nancy. ROSALIND KRAUSS, Paradigm Shift: The *Speculation of Downcast Eyes*. ANDREAS HUYSEN, Memory Culture at an Impasse: Memorials in Berlin and New York. CAROLYN J. DEAN, Against Grandiloquence: "Victim's Culture" and Jewish Memory. ANSON RABINBACH, Paris, Capital of Anti-Fascism. DOMINICK LACAPRA, Toward a Critique of Violence. RITA CHIN, Democratization, Turks, and the Burden of German History. A. DIRK MOSES and ELLIOT NEAMAN, West German Generations and the *Gewaltfrage*: The Conflict of the Sixty-Eighters and the Forty-Fivers. SEYLA BENHABIB, From "the Dialectic of Enlightenment" to "the Origins of Totalitarianism" and the Genocide Convention: Adorno and Horkheimer in the Company of Arendt and Lemkin. DICK HOWARD, The Anti-Totalitarian Left between Morality and Politics. JEAN L. COHEN, Sovereign Equality vs. Imperial Right: The Battle over the "New World Order." DETLEV CLAUSSEN and MICHAEL WERZ, The Myths of Modern Identity as Ersatz Ideologies.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

RAYMOND E. DUMETT, editor. *Mining Tycoons in the Age of Empire, 1870–1945: Entrepreneurship, High Finance, Politics and Territorial Expansion*. (Modern Economic and Social History Series.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. xiii, 255. \$114.95.

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## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ROBERT CASSANELLO and MELANIE SHELL-WEISS, editors. *Florida's Working-Class Past: Current Perspectives*



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ALEXANDRA HARMON, editor. *The Power of Promises: Rethinking Indian Treaties in the Pacific Northwest*. (The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography.) Seattle: University of Washington Press, with the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest. 2008. Pp. xiii, 358. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$28.95.

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ANNA KASTEN NELSON, editor. *The Policy Makers: Shaping American Foreign Policy from 1947 to the Present*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2009. Pp. vii, 188. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$26.95.

STEVEN L. REARDEN, Paul H. Nitze and NSC 68: "Militarizing" the Cold War. CHRIS TUDDA, "The Devil's Advocate": Robert Bowie, Western European Integration, and the German Problem, 1953–1954. LLOYD GARDNER, Walt Whitman Rostow: Hawkeyed Optimist. ANNA KASTEN NELSON, Senator Henry Jackson and the Demise of Détente. PATRICK VAUGHAN, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Afghanistan. JOHN PRADOS, The Wave Maker: Bill Casey in the Reagan Years. WALTER LAFEBER, Colin Powell: The Rise and Fall of the Powell Doctrine.

## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

DANIELA BLEICHMAR et al. *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 427. \$65.00.

DAVID GOODMAN, Science, Medicine, and Technology in Colonial Spanish America: New Interpretations, New Approaches. PALMIRA FONTES DA COSTA and HENRIQUE LEITÃO, Portuguese Imperial Science, 1450–1800: A Historiographical Review. MARÍA M. PORTUONDO, Cosmography at the *Casa, Consejo*, and *Corte* during the Century of Discovery. ONÉSIMO T. ALMEIDA, Science during the Portuguese Maritime Discoveries: A Telling Case of Interaction between Experimenters and Theoreticians. JUAN PIMENTEL, Baroque Natures: Juan E. Nieremberg, American Wonders, and Preterimperial Natural History. ANNA MORE, Cosmopolitanism and Scientific Reason in New Spain: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the Dispute over the 1680 Comet. MARTHA FEW, Medical Mestizaje and the Politics of Pregnancy in Colonial Guatemala, 1660–1730. FIONA CLARK, “Read All About It”: Science, Translation, Adaptation, and Confrontation in the *Gazeta de Literatura de México*, 1788–1795. JÚNIA FERREIRA FURTADO, The Indies of Knowledge, or the Imaginary Geography of the Discoveries of Gold in Brazil. NURIA VALVERDE and ANTONIO LAFUENTE, Space Production and Spanish Imperial Geopolitics. ANTONIO BARRERA-OSORIO, Knowledge and Empiricism in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish Atlantic World. KEVIN SHEEHAN, Voyaging in the Spanish Baroque: Science and Patronage in the Pacific Voyage of Pedro Fernández de Quirós. TIMOTHY WALKER, Acquisition and Circulation of Medical Knowledge within the Early Modern Portuguese Colonial Empire. PAULA

DE VOS, The Rare, the Singular, and the Extraordinary: Natural History and the Collection of Curiosities in the Spanish Empire. DANIELA BLEICHMAR, A Visible and Useful Empire: Visual Culture and Colonial Natural History in the Eighteenth-Century Spanish World.

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

KEVIN J. CALLAHAN and SARAH A. CURTIS, editors. *Views from the Margins: Creating Identities in Modern France*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. 277. \$31.95.

SARAH A. CURTIS, Missionary Utopias: Anne-Marie Javouhey and the Colony at Mana, French Guiana, 1827–1848. JEREMY RICH, Marcel Lefebvre in Gabon: Revival, Missionaries, and the Colonial Roots of Catholic Traditionalism. STEPHEN L. HARP, Marketing in the Metropole: Colonial Rubber Plantations and French Consumerism in the Early Twentieth Century. LEE WHITFIELD, Exorcising Algeria: French Citizens, the War, and the Remaking of National Identity in the Rhône-Alpes, 1954–1962. SAMUEL HUSTON GOODFELLOW, Autonomy or Colony: The Politics of Alsace’s Relationship to France in the Interwar Era. KEVIN J. CALLAHAN, The “True” French Worker Party: The Problem of French Sectarianism and Identity Politics in the Second International, 1889–1900. SEAN M. QUINLAN, Sex and the Citizen: Reproductive Manuals and Fashionable Readers in Napoleonic France, 1799–1808. ANNE R. EPSTEIN, Gender and the Creation of the French Intellectual: The Case of the *Revue de Morale Sociale*, 1899–1903. RACHEL G. FUCHS, Family Dramas: Paternity, Divorce, and Adultery, 1917–1945.

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DEL HOSTE, EDWARD PATERSON. *Observing Sindh: Selected Reports*. Foreword and edited by MATTHEW A. COOK. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 138. Rs295.00.

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MADISON, JAMES. *The Papers of James Madison, Presidential Series. Volume 6: 8 February–24 October 1813*. Edited by ANGELA KREIDER et al. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2008. Pp. xxxviii, 775. \$85.00.

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SOUTHERN, ED, editor. *Voices of the American Revolution in the Carolinas*. (Real Voices, Real History Series.) Winston-Salem: John F. Blair. 2009. Pp. xxiii, 252. \$12.95.

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## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

DE VARGAS MACHUCA, CAPTAIN BERNARDO. *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies*. Edited by KRIS LANE. Translated by TIMOTHY F. JOHNSON. (The Cultures and Practice of Violence Series.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. lxxiv, 293. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, BERNAL. *The History of the Conquest of New Spain*. Edited and foreword by DAVID CARRASCO. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. xxviii, 473. \$27.95.

## EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- KLEINEKE, HANNES, editor. *Parliamentarians at Law: Select Legal Proceedings of the Long Fifteenth Century Relating to Parliament*. (Parliamentary History: Texts and Studies, number 2.) Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, for the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust. 2008. Pp. x, 443. \$49.99.
- PAVIOT, JACQUES, editor. *Projets de croisade (v. 1290-v. 1330)*. (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, number 20.) Paris: L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. 2008. Pp. 412.
- SALONEN, KIRSI, and LUDWIG SCHMUGGE, editors. *A Sip from the "Well of Grace": Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, number 7.) With CD-ROM. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 196. \$29.95.

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

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- BONAZZA, MARCELLO, and REINHARD STAUBER, editors. *Ceti tirolesi e territorio trentino: Materiali dal Landschaftliches Archiv di Innsbruck 1722–1785*. (Fondazione Bruno Kessler: Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento: Fonti, number 7.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2008. Pp. 418. €30.00.
- CLAYTON, MARGARET CURTIS, editor. *The Council Book for the Province of Munster c. 1599–1649*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission. 2008. Pp. xii, 498. €65.00.
- DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER. *Understanding Europe*. Foreword by GEORGE WEIGEL. (The Works of Christopher Dawson.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xix, 215. \$24.95.
- DAY, IVAN. *Cooking in Europe, 1650–1850*. (Cooking Up History; Daily Life through History.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2009. Pp. xxvii, 166. \$45.00.
- GIES, MIEP. *Meine Zeit mit Anne Frank: Der Bericht jener Frau, die Anne Frank und ihre Familie in ihrem Versteck versorgte, sie lange Zeit vor der Deportation bewahrte—und sie doch nicht retten konnte*. Assisted by ALISON LESLIE GOLD. Translated by LISELOTTE JULIUS and IRMENGARD GABLER. Afterword by MIEP GIES. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. 2009. Pp. 254. €9.30.

- LEFÈVRE, NICOLAS. *La vie de Michel de Marillac (1560–1632): Garde des sceaux de France sous Louis XIII*. Transcribed and edited by DONALD A. BAILEY. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université Laval. 2007. Pp. lxx, 653. \$60.00.
- LUKACS, JOHN. *Last Rites*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. 187. \$25.00.
- PAILLARD, CHRISTOPHE, editor. *Jean-Louis Wagnière, secrétaire de Voltaire: Lettres et documents*. (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, number 2008:12.) Oxford: Voltaire Foundation. 2008. Pp. xiv, 416. \$145.00.
- PARENTE, MARGHERITA ISNARDI. *Rinascimento politico in Europa*. Edited by DIEGO QUAGLIONI and PAOLO CARTA. Padua: CEDAM. 2008. Pp. xii, 208. €20.50.
- PASZTORY, ESTHER. *Remove Trouble from Your Heart*. (East European Monographs, number 729.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2008. Pp. 120. \$40.00.
- PLOTKIN, ABRAHAM. *An American in Hitler's Berlin: Abraham Plotkin's Diary, 1932–33*. Edited and Foreword by CATHERINE COLLOMP and BRUNO GROPPPO. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2009. Pp. xlix, 206. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.
- VENEZIA, SHLOMO. *Inside the Gas Chambers: Eight Months in the Sonderkommando of Auschwitz*. Assisted by BÉATRICE PRASQUIER, MARCELLO PEZZETTI, and UMBERTO GENTILONI. Foreword by SIMONE VEIL. Edited by JEAN MOUTAPA. Translated by ANDREW BROWN. Cambridge: Polity, with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. 2009. Pp. xv, 202. \$22.95.

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

- MATAR, NABIL. *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578–1727*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xxviii, 313. \$45.00.



# Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

## METHODS/THEORY

- DEMSETZ, HAROLD. *From Economic Man to Economic System: Essays on Human Behavior and the Institutions of Capitalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 189. \$60.00.
- FROHNEN, BRUCE P., and KENNETH L. GRASSO, editors. *Rethinking Rights: Historical, Political, and Philosophical Perspectives*. (Eric Voegelin Institute Series in Political Philosophy.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 271. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$24.95.
- GERO, ANDRÁS. *Hungarian Illusionism*. Translated by THOMAS J. DEKORNFELD and HELEN DEKORNFELD. (East European Monographs, number 731; CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, number 16.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs, with the Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, Inc., Wayne, New Jersey; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2008. Pp. ix, 120. \$40.00.
- HEY, DAVID, editor. *Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xxxix, 661. \$50.00.
- MIYARES, RUBÉN VALDÉS, and CARLA RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ, editors. *Culture and Power: The Plots of History in Performance*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2008. Pp. vii, 292. \$59.99.
- WOOD, GORDON S. *The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the Uses of History*. New York: Penguin. 2008. Pp. 323. \$17.00.
- WORTHEN, JEREMY F. *The Internal Foe: Judaism and Anti-Judaism in the Shaping of Christian Theology*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2009. Pp. xvi, 286. \$44.99.

## COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- ALFREDSON, LISA S. *Creating Human Rights: How Noncitizens Made Sex Persecution Matter to the World*. (Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. 314. \$69.95.
- BERG, MANFRED, and BERND SCHAEFER, editors. *Historical Justice in International Perspective: How Societies Are Trying to Right the Wrongs of the Past*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute. 2009. Pp. xi, 317. \$80.00.
- BOB, CLIFFORD, editor. *The International Struggle for New Human Rights*. (Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. vi, 194. \$45.00.
- BROCKEY, LIAM MATTHEW, editor. *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*. (Empires and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–2000.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2008. Pp. xvi, 282. \$114.95.

- BURLEIGH, MICHAEL. *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism*. New York: HarperCollins. 2009. Pp. xii, 577. \$29.99.
- CHUA, AMY. *Day of Empire: How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance—and Why They Fall*. Paperback edition. New York: Anchor Books. 2009. Pp. xxxiv, 396. \$16.95.
- CIMBALA, STEPHEN J. *Shield of Dreams: Missile Defense and U.S.-Russian Nuclear Strategy*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 193. \$21.60.
- DILLINGER, JOHANNES. *Die politische Repräsentation der Landbevölkerung: Neuengland und Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit*. (Transatlantische historische Studien, number 34.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2008. Pp. 588. €67.00.
- ELLIS, HEATHER, and JESSICA MEYER, editors. *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2009. Pp. xii, 337. \$67.99.
- FITZPATRICK, JOAN, editor. *The Idea of the City: Early-Modern, Modern and Post-Modern Locations and Communities*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2009. Pp. vii, 224. \$39.99.
- FRIEDMAN, JONATHAN C., editor. *Performing Difference: Representations of "The Other" in Film and Theater*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2009. Pp. ix, 303. \$39.95.
- GONZÁLEZ-BERNALDO, PILAR, MANUELA MARTINI, and MARIE-LOUISE PELUS-KAPLAN, editors. *Étrangers et Sociétés: Représentations, coexistences, interactions dans la longue durée*. (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2008. Pp. 482. €24.00.
- HEINEN, HEINZ, editor. *Menschenraub, Menschenhandel und Sklaverei in antiker und moderner Perspektive*. Assisted by JOHANNES DEIBLER. (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, number 37.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2008. Pp. xii, 219. €39.00.
- LAURENCE, ANNE, JOSEPHINE MALTBY, and JANETTE RUTTERFORD, editors. *Women and Their Money 1700–1950: Essays on Women and Finance*. (Routledge International Studies in Business History, number 15.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. xvii, 309. \$160.00.
- METZ, RAINER. *Auf der Suche nach den Langen Wellen der Konjunktur*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2008. Pp. xii, 403. €68.00.
- MILLER, TYRUS, editor. *Given World and Time: Temporalities in Context*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 368. \$50.00.
- MOSS, ROBERT. *The Secret History of Dreaming*. Novato, Calif.: New World Library. 2009. Pp. xxi, 329. \$23.95.
- PARKER, JOHN W. *Persian Dreams: Moscow and Tehran since the Fall of the Shah*. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2009. Pp. xiv, 423. \$34.95.
- PRICE-SMITH, ANDREW T. *Contagion and Chaos: Disease, Ecology, and National Security in the Era of Globalization*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 2009. Pp. x, 281. \$24.00.
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SOMERS, MARGARET R. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights*. (Cambridge Cultural Social Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 338. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$34.99.

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WEAVER, JOHN, and DAVID WRIGHT, editors. *Histories of Suicide: International Perspectives on Self-Destruction in the Modern World*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 359. \$75.00.

WEBB, JAMES L. A. JR. *Humanity's Burden: A Global History of Malaria*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 236. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$22.99.

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BASS, THOMAS A. *The Spy Who Loved Us: The Vietnam War and Pham Xuan An's Dangerous Game*. New York: PublicAffairs. 2009. Pp. xviii, 297. \$26.95.

FRYKENBERG, ROBERT ERIC. *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*. (Oxford History of the Christian Church.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xxi, 564. \$150.00.

HIRSCHMANN, EDWIN. *Robert Knight: Reforming Editor in Victorian India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 272. \$50.00.

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LU, TINA. *Accidental Incest, Filial Cannibalism, and Other Peculiar Encounters in Late Imperial Chinese Literature*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 304.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2008. Pp. viii, 306. \$39.95.

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ROBINSON, FRANCIS. *Islam, South Asia, and the West*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. vi, 308. \$29.95.

TAYLOR, ROBERT H. *The State in Myanmar*. Rev. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2009. Pp. xxv, 555. \$28.00.

TSAI, SHIH-SHAN HENRY. *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West*. (An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2009. Pp. xiii, 265. Cloth \$65.95, paper \$27.95.

TURLEY, WILLIAM S. *The Second Indochina War: A Concise Political and Military History*. 2d ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2009. Pp. xxxiii, 301. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.95.

VELUTHAT, KESAVAN. *The Early Medieval in South India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 356. \$60.00.

WASSERSTROM, JEFFREY N. *Global Shanghai, 1850–2010: A History in Fragments*. (Asia's Great Cities.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. xvi, 170. \$39.95.

## OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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ALLARDICE, BRUCE S., and LAWRENCE LEE HEWITT, editors. *Kentuckians in Gray: Confederate Generals and Field Officers of the Bluegrass State*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. vii, 336. \$40.00.

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ARCHER, JERMAINE O. *Antebellum Slave Narratives: Cultural and Political Expressions of Africa*. (Studies in American Popular History and Culture.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. xiv, 128. \$95.00.

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BIANCULLI, ANTHONY J. *Iron Rails in the Garden State: Tales of New Jersey Railroad*. (Railroads Past and Present.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 190. \$39.95.

BONK, DAVID. *Trenton and Princeton, 1776–77: Washington Crosses the Delaware*. Illustrated by GRAHAM TURNER. (Campaign, number 203.) Oxford: Osprey. 2009. Pp. 96. \$19.95.

BRAISTED, WILLIAM REYNOLDS. *Diplomats in Blue: U.S. Naval Officers in China, 1922–1933*. Foreword by JAMES C. BRADFORD and GENE ALLEN SMITH. (New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2009. Pp. xvii, 405. \$75.00.

BRESCIA, MICHAEL M., and JOHN C. SUPER. *North America: An Introduction*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 247. \$29.95.

BUDIANSKY, STEPHEN. *The Bloody Shirt: Terror After the Civil War*. Paperback edition. New York: Plume. 2009. Pp. 322. \$16.00.

BURTON, GABRIELLE. *Searching for Tamsen Donner*. (American Lives.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 314. \$26.95.

CARSON, JAMES TAYLOR. *Making an Atlantic World: Circles, Paths, and Stories from the Colonial South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 161. \$36.00.

CASEY, SHAUN A. *The Making of a Catholic President: Kennedy vs. Nixon 1960*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 261. \$27.95.

CASHIN, JOAN E. *First Lady of the Confederacy: Varina Davis's Civil War*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. 403. \$18.95.

CASTIGLIA, CHRISTOPHER. *Interior States: Institutional Consciousness and the Inner Life of Democracy in the Antebellum United States*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 366. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

CHEMERKA, WILLIAM R., and ALLEN J. WIENER. *Music of the Alamo*. Introduction by PHIL COLLINS. Foreword by FESS PARKER. (With CD-ROM.) Houston: Bright Sky Press. 2008. Pp. 191. \$29.95.

CHYLIŃSKA, BOZENNA, editor. *Ideology and Rhetoric: Constructing America*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2009. Pp. xxi, 401. \$74.99.

CLINTON, CATHERINE. *Mrs. Lincoln: A Life*. New York: HarperCollins. 2009. Pp. viii, 415. \$26.99.

CLUNE, JOHN J. JR., and MARGO S. STRINGFIELD. *Historic Pensacola*. (Colonial Towns and Cities of the Atlantic World.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2009. Pp. xi, 185. \$27.00.

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- tors in Economic Development.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xxvi, 315. \$27.95.
- CRAUGHWELL, THOMAS J. *Stealing Lincoln's Body*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 250. \$24.95.
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- DAVIDSON, LAWRENCE. *Foreign Policy, Inc.: Privatizing America's National Interest*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2009. Pp. 188. \$27.50.
- DENNIS, MICHAEL. *The New Economy and the Modern South*. Foreword by RICHARD GREENWALD and TIMOTHY MINCHIN. (Working in the Americas.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2009. Pp. xii, 346. \$75.00.
- DERBYSHIRE, WYN. *Six Tycoons: The Lives of John Jacob Astor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford, and Joseph P. Kennedy*. London: Spiramus Press. 2008. Pp. vii, 251. \$36.95.
- DICK, STEVEN J., editor. *Remembering the Space Age: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Conference*. Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Office of External Relations, History Division. 2008. Pp. xiii, 465.
- DOLAN, BRIAN. *Inventing Entertainment: The Player Piano and the Origins of an American Musical Industry*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2009. Pp. xix, 205. \$39.95.
- DUTHU, N. BRUCE. *American Indians and the Law*. (The Penguin Library of American Indian History.) New York: Penguin. 2008. Pp. xxx, 270. \$16.00.
- ELKINS, VICKI, editor. *Zephyrhills: From A to Z*. With MARGARET SEPPANEN. Tampa: University of Tampa Press. 2008. Pp. x, 285. \$29.95.
- EMERSON, JASON. *Lincoln the Inventor*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 111. \$12.95.
- ENGLISH, BELLA, et al. *Last Lion: The Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy*. Edited by PETER S. CANELLOS. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2009. Pp. viii, 464. \$24.00.
- EPSTEIN, DANIEL MARK. *Lincoln's Men: The President and His Private Secretaries*. New York: Smithsonian Books. 2009. Pp. 262. \$26.99.
- EZRA, MICHAEL. *Muhammad Ali: The Making of an Icon*. (Sporting Series.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 233. \$24.95.
- FLOOD, CHARLES BRACELEN. *1864: Lincoln at the Gates of History*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2009. Pp. xi, 521. \$30.00.
- GAERTNER, JOHN. *The Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railway: A History of the Lake Superior District's Pioneer Iron Ore Hauler*. (Railroads Past and Present.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 349. \$49.95.
- GOODE, JAMES M. *Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital*. Photography by CLIFT A. SEFERLIS and ALEX JAMISON. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 830. \$75.00.
- GORDON, SARAH A. "Make It Yourself": *Home Sewing, Gender, and Culture, 1890–1930*. (Gutenberg-e Online History Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xxi, 164. \$60.00.
- GRABBE, HANS-JÜRGEN, editor. *Halle Pietism, Colonial North America, and the Young United States*. (USA-Studien, number 15.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2008. Pp. 321. €59.00.
- GRANT-THOMAS, ANDREW, and GARY ORFIELD, editors. *Twenty-First Century Color Lines: Multiracial Change in Contemporary America*. Foreword by CHRISTOPHER EDLEY, JR. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 312. \$24.95.
- GRAY, SUSAN ELAINE. "I Will Fear No Evil": *Ojibwa-Missionary Encounters along the Berens River, 1875–1940*. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2006. Pp. xxxii, 214. \$29.95.
- GREENBERG, JOSHUA R. *Advocating the Man: Masculinity, Organized Labor, and the Household in New York, 1800–1840*. (Gutenberg-e Online History Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2008. Pp. xxvi, 254. \$60.00.
- GREENWALD, BRIAN H., and JOHN VICKREY VAN CLEVE, editors. *A Fair Chance in the Race of Life: The Role of Gallaudet University in Deaf History*. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 198. \$34.95.
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# Communications

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## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITORS:

I greatly admired Eric D. Weitz's article "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions" (*AHR*, December 2008, 1313–1343). Weitz is particularly helpful in stressing that "a politics focused on populations" involves "an array of words and policies" covering a broad spectrum: "civilizing mission, self-determination, minorities and majorities, mandates, and genocide" (1314). I cannot agree, however, that the late-nineteenth-century focus on "discrete populations and the ideal of national homogeneity under the state" constituted "an entirely new way of conceiving politics" (1313). While the specifically racial terms in which demographic heterogeneity was conceived under the Paris system may well have been novel, an essentially similar population politics—revolving around confessional allegiance rather than race—was articulated in the seventeenth century, if not earlier.

Weitz acknowledges that "states of all sorts had often focused their energies on particular [religious] populations" at least as early as 1648; what was new in the nineteenth century, he claims, was "the connection drawn between populations conceived in national and racial terms and sovereignty, and the development of the civilizing mission into a comprehensive program" (1315). Before that, "Diversity under the state was an accepted fact of life"—despite such "anomalies" as the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from late-fifteenth-

century Spain (1317). But if one accepts Weitz's view of genocide as the "extreme" (1326) end of a spectrum of policies directed toward minority populations, then one should also recognize that the Spanish case was simply the most dramatic of many responses to the problem (for problem it was) of religious diversity in early modern Europe.

The expulsion of religious minorities for the sake of demographic homogeneity (or, as it was then known, "uniformity") was far from anomalous in the early modern period. The principle of *cuius regio eius religio* enshrined in the Peace of Augsburg (1555), the attempt to remove the rebellious Catholic Irish to a reservation west of the Shannon under Cromwell a century later, and the efflux of Huguenots from France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) directly reflected a perceived link between confessional identity and political loyalty and thus between religious uniformity and the stability of the sovereign state—as did the plethora of loyalty oaths and schemes for ecclesiastical "comprehension" (which promoted uniformity by simplifying the criteria of orthodoxy) that mark the history of late Tudor and Stuart England, Ireland, and Scotland. No more than modern "minority rights" did early modern "toleration" mean the unproblematic acceptance of diversity. In early modern Europe, just as under the Paris system Weitz describes, the existence of minorities whose very identity implied political disaffection provoked a range of responses, from limited protections (toleration with disabilities) to rigorous exclusion (expulsion). Only genocide, arguably, is absent from the picture.

Just as the problem of managing minorities occupied early modern policymakers, so the concern with maintaining the homogeneity of populations also loomed large. This is especially evident in the context of European expansion overseas: the Portuguese, Dutch, and French states all sent young women to their respective colonies in hopes of preventing mixed marriages between colonists and indigenous people; under Cromwell, the English seriously contemplated doing the same—and not only in Jamaica, but also in Ireland. Indeed, even the terminology of mixture and population "exchange" that Weitz rightly highlights (1337) appears in seventeenth-century policy proposals. Sir William Petty—who compiled a rough-and-ready census of



Cromwellian Ireland, highlighting the relative sizes of the different confessional groups—explicitly suggested “exchanging” tens of thousands of English and Irish women in the hope that a new, homogeneous population might be created “through transplantations and . . . mixture.” Most of his contemporaries preferred the kind of “unmixing” Weitz describes, but the point is clear enough. This was a politics of population that put a premium on homogeneity, and deployed a range of policies, including the large-scale displacement of carefully defined minorities, to achieve it.

In this light, it seems to me that the difference between early modern population politics and those of the twentieth century was not the conceptualization of politics in demographic terms but rather the vastly greater power of the modern state to pursue demographic homogeneity, now conceived racially rather than confessionally. Perhaps the question is not how population politics resurfaced under the Paris system, but how they were submerged in the first place.

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Eric D. Weitz does not wish to respond.

TO THE EDITORS:

The *AHR* Forum “Revisiting ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis’” (December 2008, 1344–1429) presented several excellent useful articles on this subject. While there could have been no coverage of the whole world, it seems useful to add some thoughts about gender studies regarding the Muslim Middle East, which have greatly changed scholarly views of that subject in the past three decades. In this letter I will deal very briefly with two kinds of studies—books about women and books primarily about homosexuality, a topic surprisingly almost omitted in the articles in the *AHR* Forum.

The study of women’s and gender history, aside from a few pioneering works in the 1930s and 1940s by Nabia Abbott and others, began with several monographic articles in the 1970s and 1980s, some of them published in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, *Women in the Muslim World* (Harvard University Press, 1979).

The opening of Ottoman archives and court records led to works by authors including Ronald Jennings, Abraham Marcus, and Haim Gerber that showed that women were much better treated in court than previous scholarship centering on abstract Muslim shari’a had suggested. The Ottoman field has continued to feature works based primarily on legal and court sources that deal mainly or in part with women and gender—among the important authors are Iris Agmon, Uriel Heyd, Colin Imber, Dina Rizk Khoury, Margaret Meriwether, Leslie Peirce, and Amira El-Azhary Sonbol (who has written and edited on a variety of subjects). For a long period, Ottoman courts followed codes issued by sul-

tans and almost never used physical punishments for sexual crimes, but, as for other crimes, avoided shari’a terminology that would have required such punishments and instead used fines and banishment. An outstanding summary of works on gender and Ottoman law, along with major original research, is found in Elyse Semerdjian, *“Off the Straight Path”: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo* (Syracuse University Press, 2008).

The use of court records to revise notions of gender relations was also expertly carried out in the books of Judith Tucker, beginning with her pioneering *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), and continuing with her *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (University of California Press, 1998) and *Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

The use of court and other legal sources presents problems as well as opportunities, as various authors have noted. Especially for the earlier Ottoman periods, we only have very brief summaries of the cases, and we almost never have the direct voices of the men and women involved. Also, research on current court practices shows that people often present their cases so as to fit the law rather than reality (much as in pre–no fault divorces in the U.S.). Source problems have led some scholars, adopting what some have called a postmodern approach, to deal in possibilities and probabilities, such as are found in Leslie Peirce’s *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (University of California Press, 2003). Some have seen Peirce as having changed from the fact-based narrative and generalizations of her pioneering *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1993), but it may be the very different nature of her sources that largely accounts for this change. Peirce, Semerdjian, and several other authors have clearly been influenced by Joan Scott’s ideas about gender, and several of the books mentioned cite her work.

There is no space to deal with the numerous other works on women’s and gender history, a field that has flowered in the past few decades. There have been many works on modern women’s movements—for Egypt by Beth Baron, Margot Badran, Nadjé Al-Ali, and Cynthia Nelson, for Iran by Eliz Sanasarian, and for Palestine by Ellen L. Fleischmann. There have been others on economic and social questions, and many on women’s literary history. Elizabeth Thompson’s *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (Columbia University Press, 2000) is a unique analysis of the changing interaction of local, national, and colonial ideas and practices. The general tendency of these works is to show the complexity and variability of gender relations and their interaction with modern ideas such as nationalism, socialism, fascism, and Islamic politics. Baron’s *The Women’s Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (Yale University Press, 1994) encouraged fur-

ther studies of the women's press and media, showed the variety of women's views, and first analyzed modern domesticity as a partly liberating and partly confining approach.

There have also been important books which show how later ideas about women originated, including Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation* (Oxford University Press, 1993), and Denise A. Spellberg, *Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past: The Legacy of 'A'isha bint Abi Bakr* (Columbia University Press, 1993).

Recent years have seen a sudden flowering of books on gender that deal chiefly or in part with homosexuality. These include Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Empire* (University of California Press, 2006); Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Duke University Press, 2005); Khaled el-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500–1800* (University of Chicago Press, 2005); and Joseph A. Massad, *Desiring Arabs* (University of Chicago Press, 2007). On Iran, Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (University of California Press, 2005), with a very original use of gender theory, has been criticized for making the superior-inferior homosexuality of pre-modern times appear too similar to the egalitarian homosexuality of the current gay and lesbian movement. A different approach is found in Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), which, among many other things, shows why many women have been hostile to male homosexuality, which they associated with many husbands' ignoring them socially, and in some cases sexually.

There are also several comprehensive books, by Leila Ahmed, Judith Tucker and Guity Nashat, and Nikki Keddie. Women's and gender history continues to be a lively and important field of research concerning the Middle East and the Muslim world.

NIKKI KEDDIE  
Professor Emerita of History,  
UCLA

#### TO THE EDITORS:

In her AHA Presidential Address, "The Task of the Historian" (*AHR*, February 2009, 1–15), Gabrielle M. Spiegel laments the passing of trends like poststructuralism. Most practicing historians, I think, will rather rejoice in their demise. Like a fashion that is no longer chic, they have become passé, quaint, and even laugh-

able. Can any serious historian consider that a sentence such as one she uses in her address—"This initiative is, in the first instance, cognitive, a subject's ongoing re-formulation of values, priorities, interests, and behaviors in terms provided, but not governed, by available discourses or languages (i.e., sign systems)"—is anything more than obscurity posing as profundity? How many practicing historians have ever bothered to read the writings of Jacques Derrida and apply them to their own work? Few except for those postmodernists who are presently disappearing from the scene. For its part the "linguistic turn" now appears to have been only a detour leading to a dead end.

Contrary to what Dr. Spiegel may believe, historians do not dissect the "dead 'other'" but seek to bring those who once lived back to life, listen to their conversations, look over their shoulders as they write letters or keep journals, as well as observe them as they behave in love and war. To understand the past, true historians conduct research in archives and libraries, discover forgotten documents and books, talk to survivors of the past, visit sites like Auschwitz to understand what happened. (I can still recall a neighbor who had survived a Nazi extermination camp rolling up his sleeve to show me the prisoner identification number tattooed on his arm. At that moment, the Holocaust became a living reality to me.) If words are insufficient, photographs and newsreels, a subject totally neglected in Dr. Spiegel's essay, can help to explain what occurred in death camps during the Third Reich.

The task of the historian is hardly difficult to understand: it is to describe truthfully, forcefully, and clearly what human beings have done and explain why they did them. If historians spoke only to one another, as did the structuralists and poststructuralists, in a language intelligible only to themselves, what real purpose would historical writing serve?

Let the verbose theoreticians, obscurantist linguists, and trendy philosophers natter among themselves. Let the dead bury the dead.

JAMES FRIGUGLIETTI  
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Gabrielle Spiegel does not wish to respond.

#### ERRATUM

In Sander Gilman's review of Jay W. Baird, *Hitler's War Poets: Literature and Politics in the Third Reich* (*AHR*, February 2009, 230), the writer Ernst Jünger was twice referred to as Ernst Ringer. The editors regret the error.

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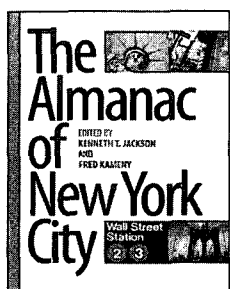
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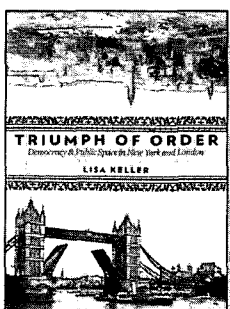
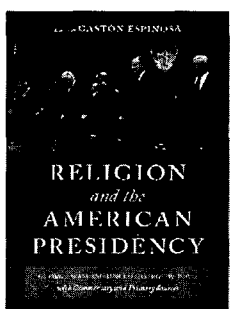
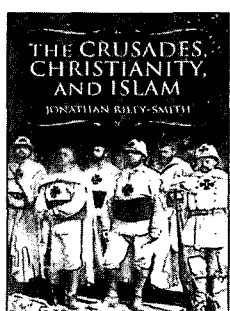
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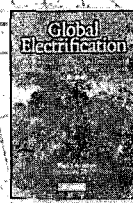
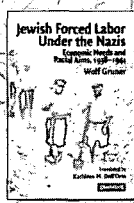
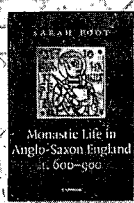
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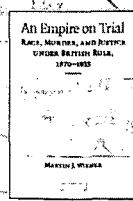
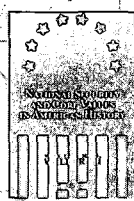
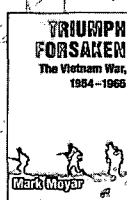
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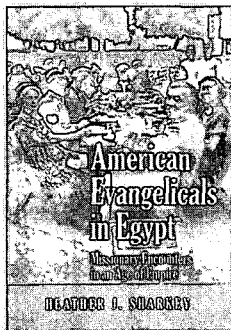
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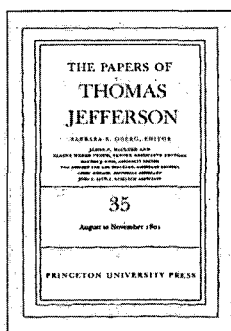
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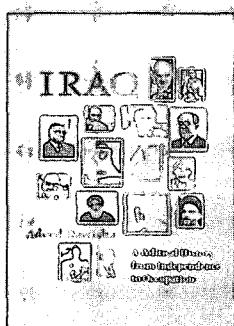
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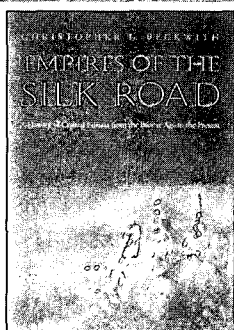
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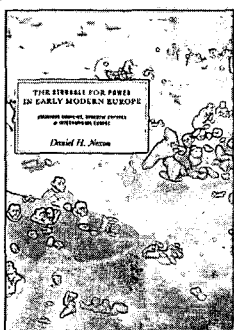
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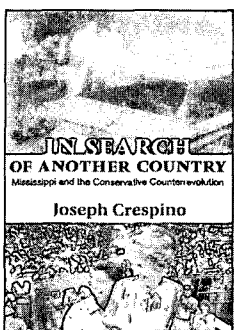
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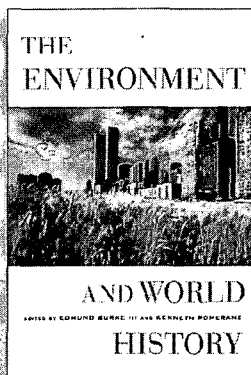
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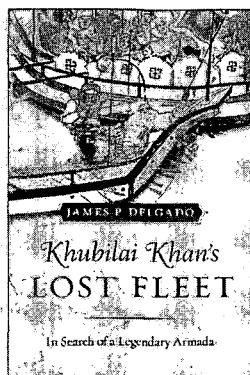
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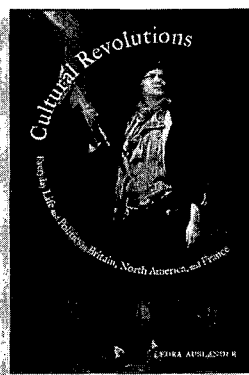
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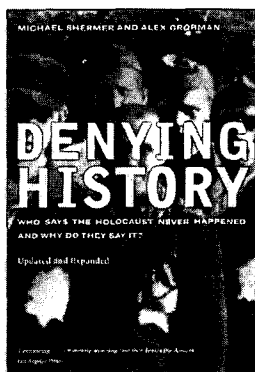
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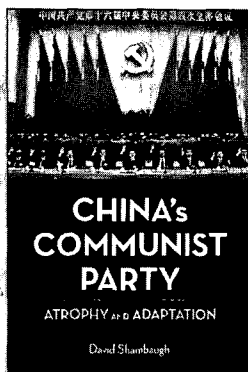
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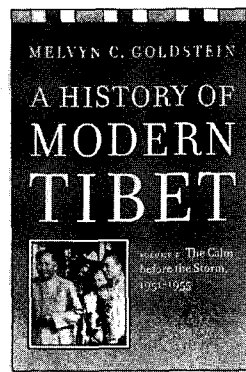
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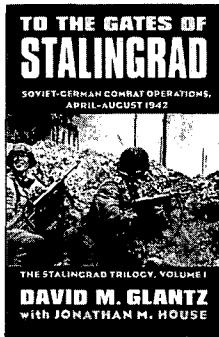
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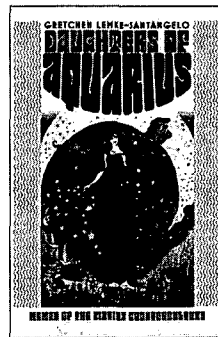
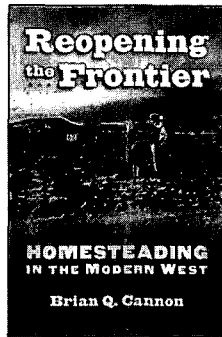
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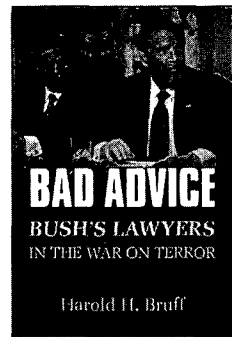
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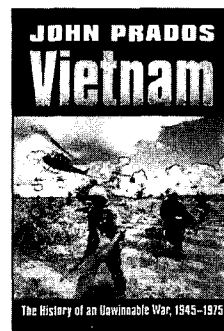
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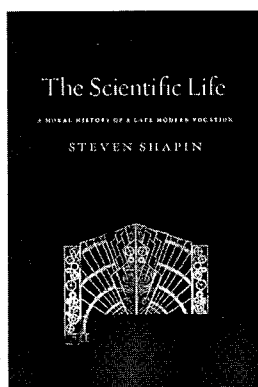
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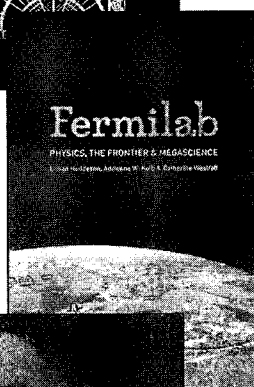
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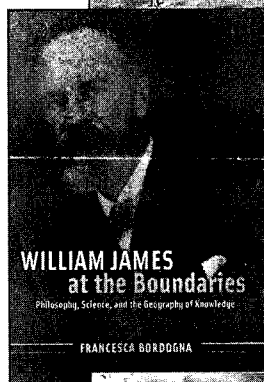
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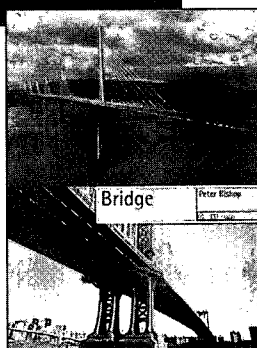
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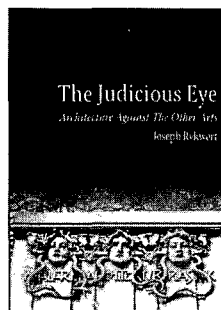
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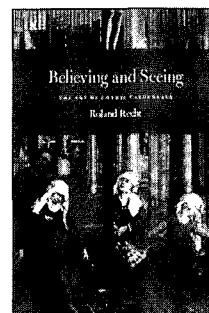
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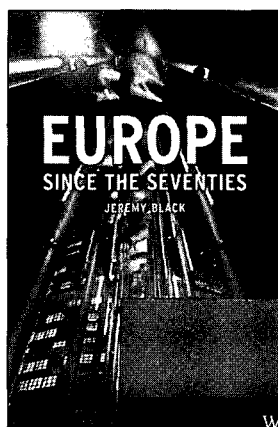
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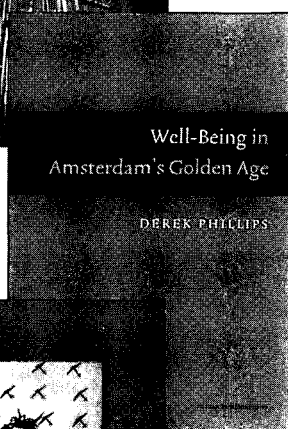


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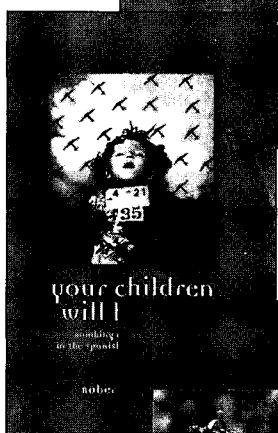


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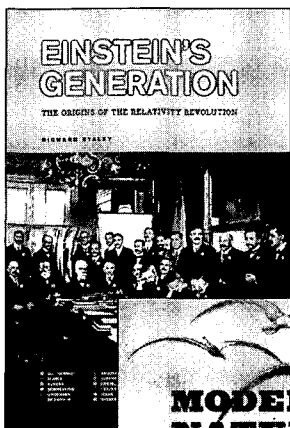
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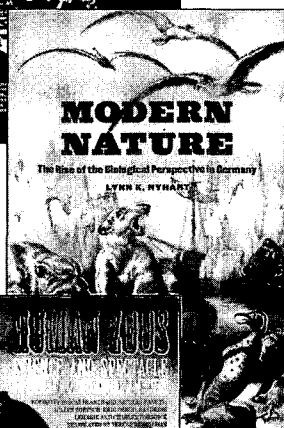
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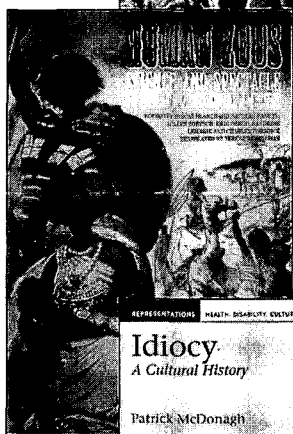
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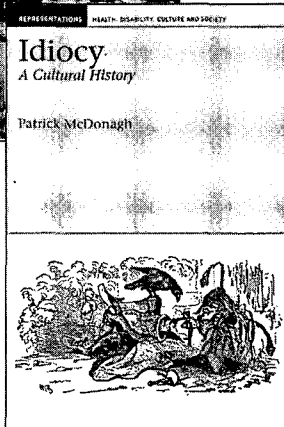
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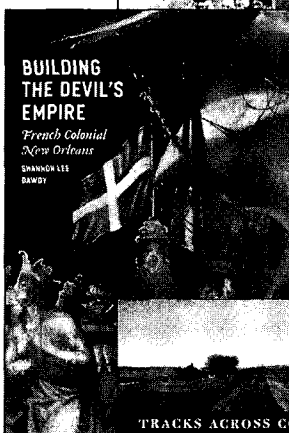


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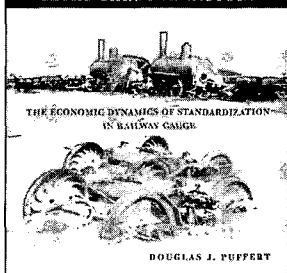


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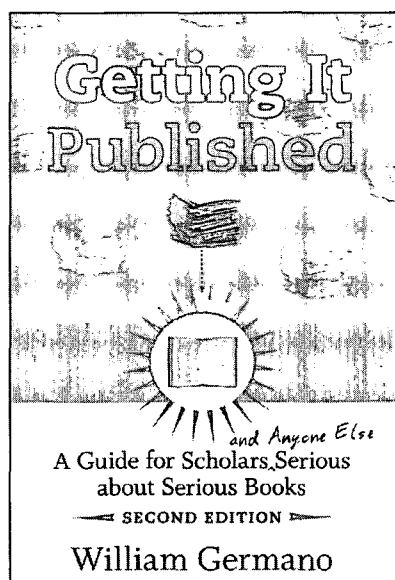
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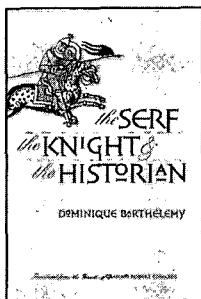


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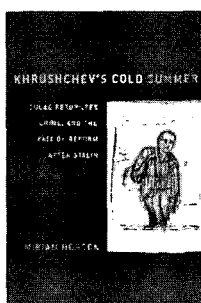
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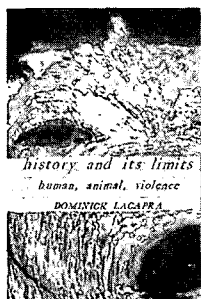
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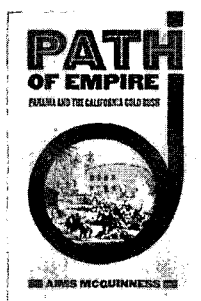
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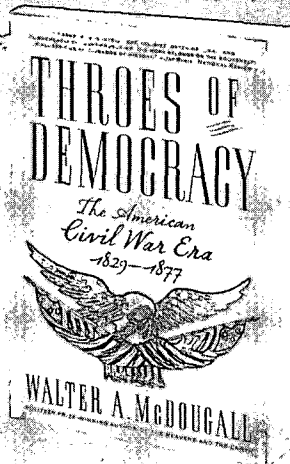
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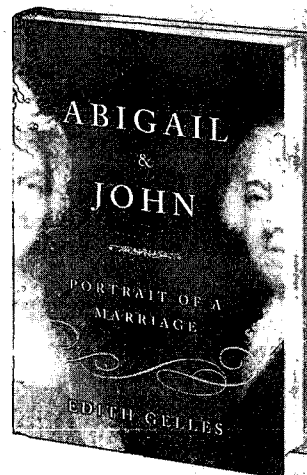


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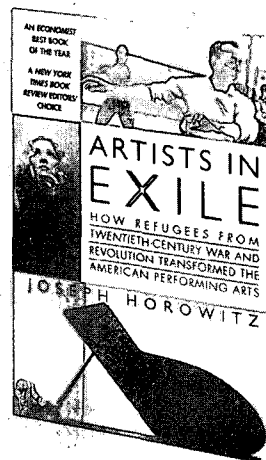


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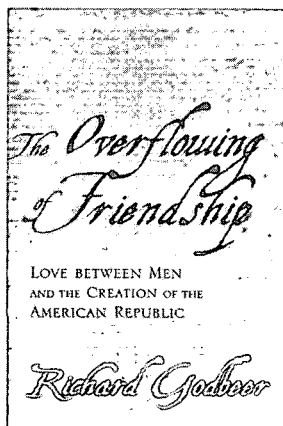
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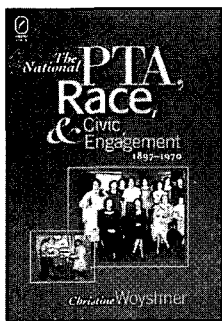
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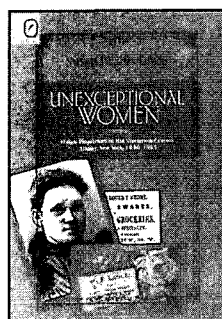


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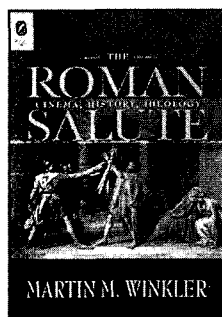
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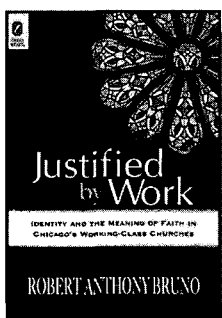
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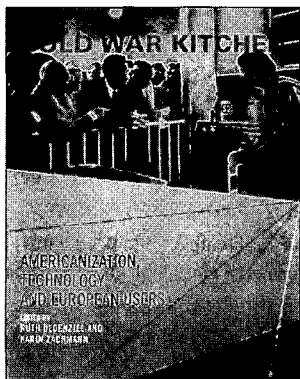


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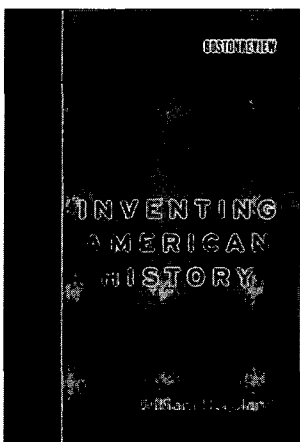
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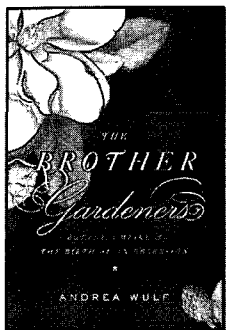
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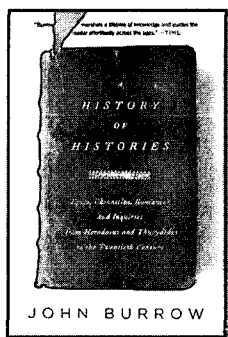


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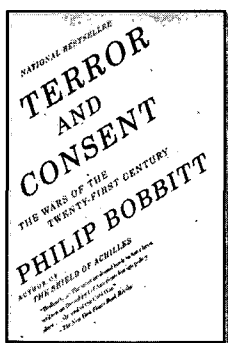


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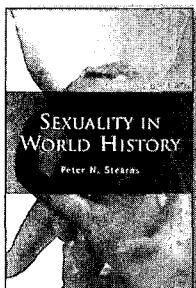
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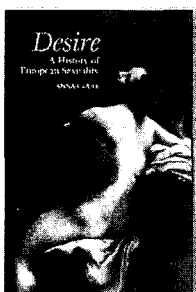


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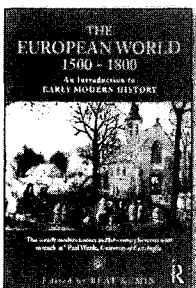


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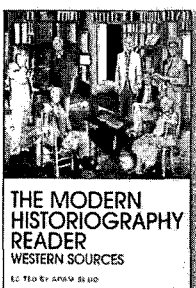


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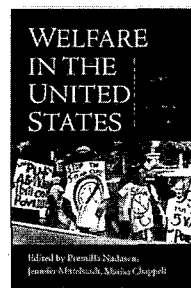
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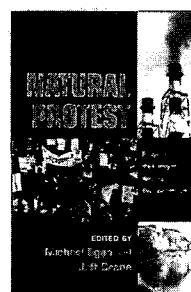


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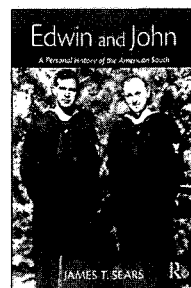


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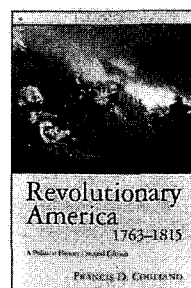


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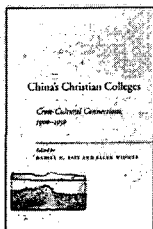
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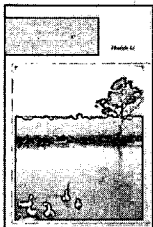
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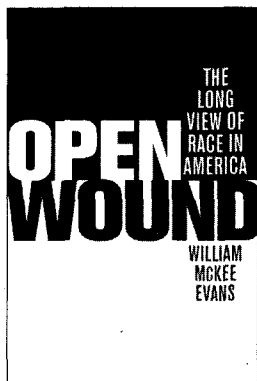
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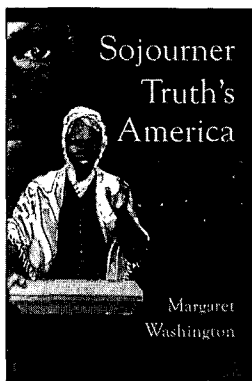
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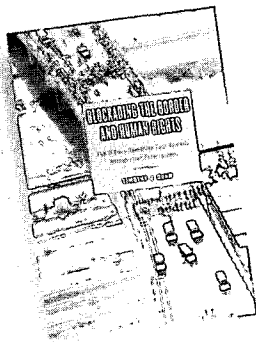
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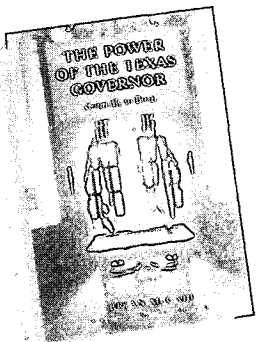
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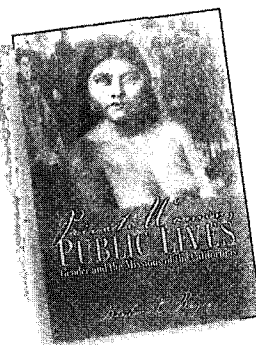
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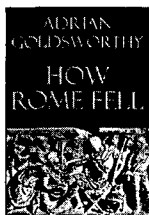
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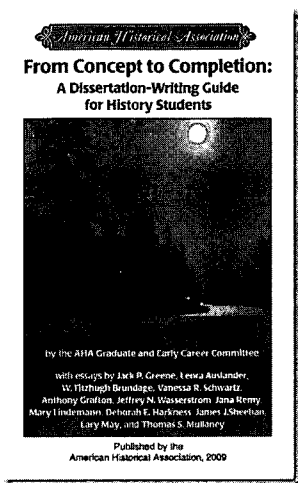
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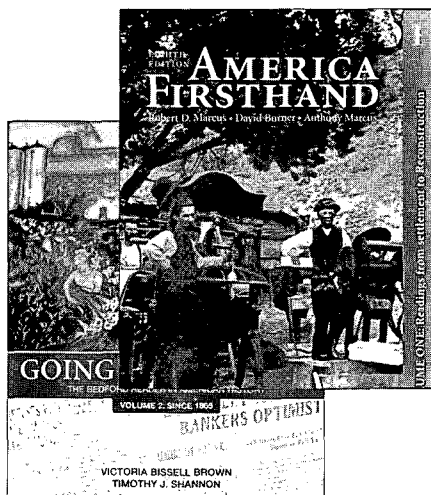
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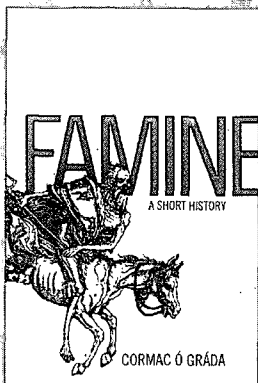
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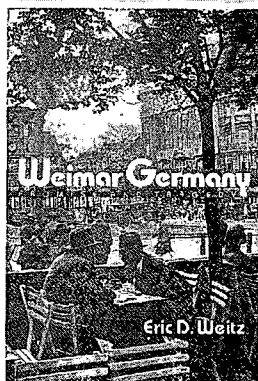


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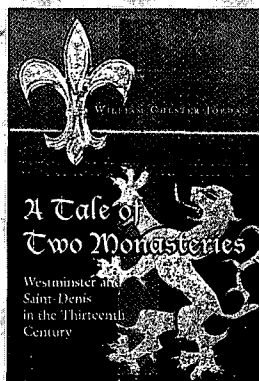
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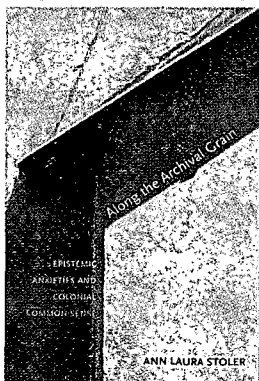


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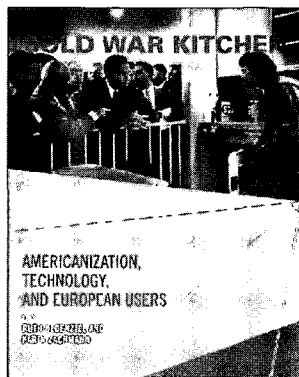
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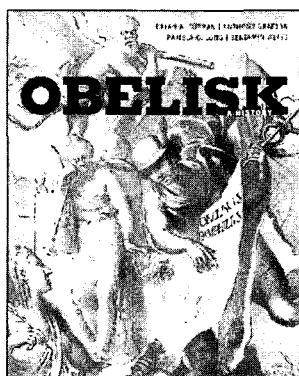
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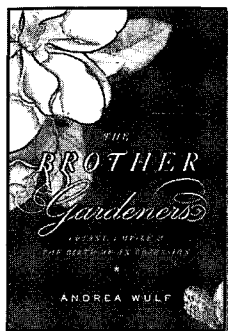
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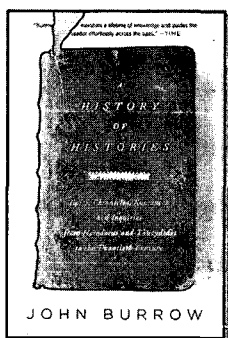


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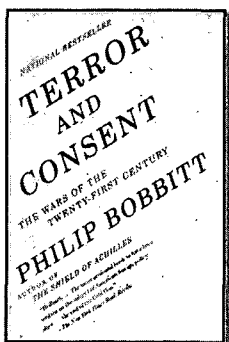


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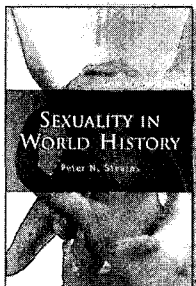
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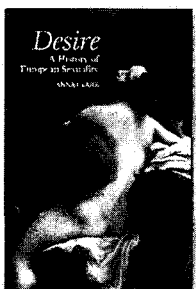


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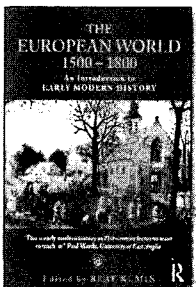


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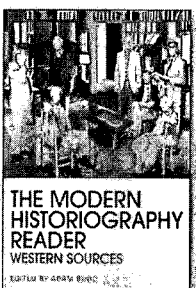


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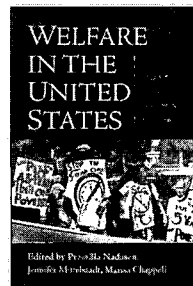
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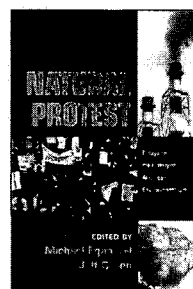


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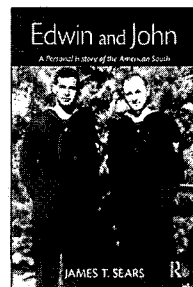


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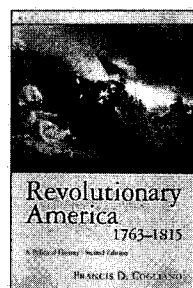


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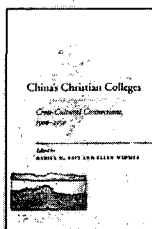
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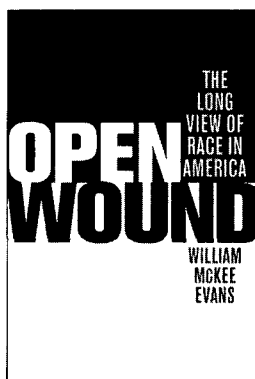
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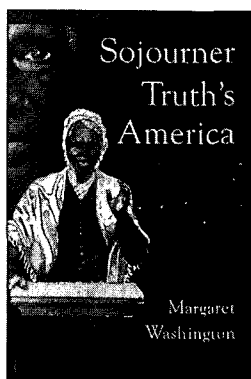
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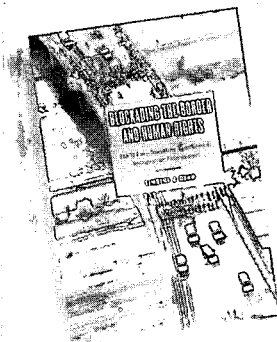
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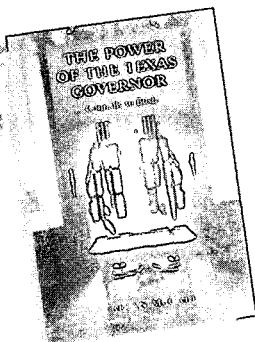
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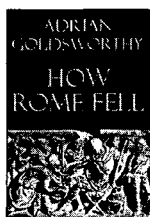
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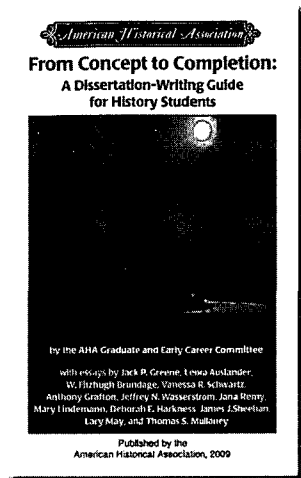
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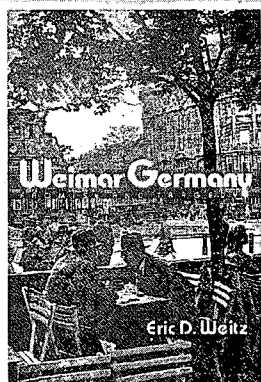




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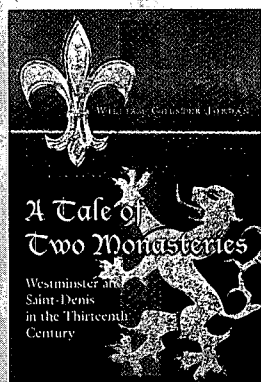
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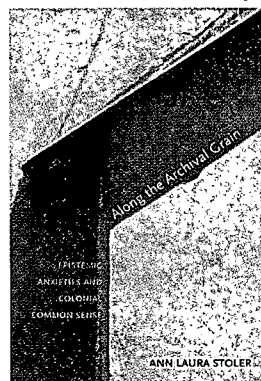
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